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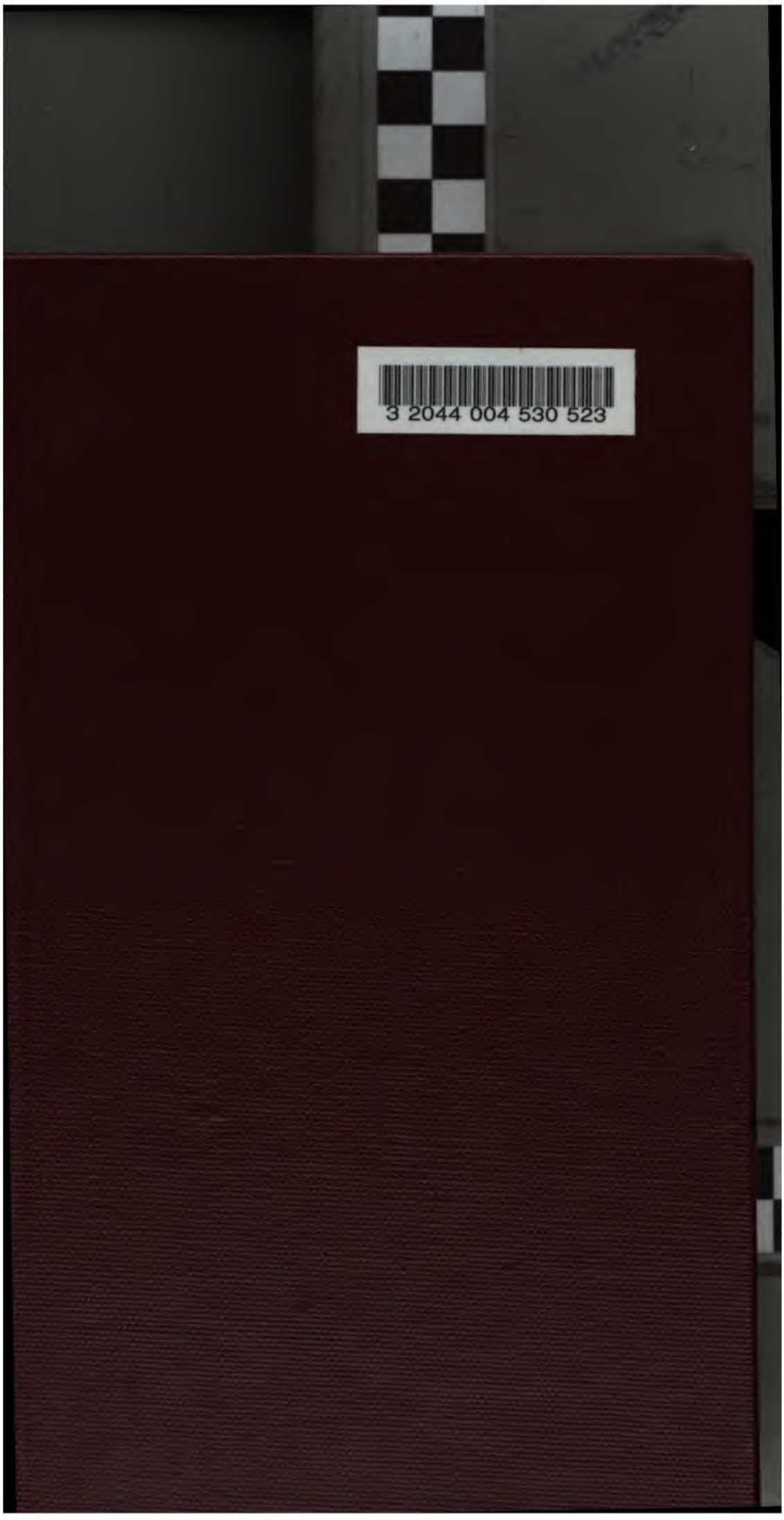
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AUSTRIA IN 1848–49:

BEING A HISTORY OF THE

LATE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

IN

VIENNA, MILAN, VENICE, AND PRAGUE;

WITH

DETAILS OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF LOMBARDY AND HUNGARY,

AND A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE

REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY.

ALL DERIVED FROM OFFICIAL OR AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND THE

NARRATIVE OF EYE-WITNESSES.

BY WILLIAM H. STILES.

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PERSONAGES, LOCALITIES, BATTLES, AND SCENERY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

NEW YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,

329 & 331 PEARL STREET,

FRANKLIN SQUARE.

1850.



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AND HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVINCES OF THE EMPIRE.

BY WILLIAM H. STILES,

LATE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE COURT OF VIENNA.

WITH

Portraits of the Emperor, Metternich, Radetzky, Pellacic, and Kossuth.

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PREFACE.

In the following pages the aim has been to afford the reader a just, however inadequate knowledge of one of the most important series of events which have occurred *in our own times.* Such an attempt is always perilous to the reputation of a writer for impartiality, and in the present instance this is especially liable to be the case, since the events recorded have given rise to many conflicting opinions. Admonished by such considerations of the difficulty and delicacy of the task, the author has been encouraged to undertake it, on account of the favorable opportunities he has enjoyed, both for accurate observation and candid judgment. Honored with the office of representative of the United States government in Austria, he witnessed the rise, progress, and final catastrophe of the revolution. He embraced the means which his official residence in Vienna afforded to collect materials from all sources to illustrate the general history of the times. By constant reference to official documents, some of which were only to be found in the imperial archives, as well as to more public authorities, and by means of his own personal observation, he has endeavored to present a faithful picture of the eventful struggles in Vienna, in Milan, in Venice, and in Prague, as well as full details of the campaigns in Lombardy, in Piedmont, and in Hungary.

To understand the causes, as well as to appreciate the facts of the recent political convulsions in Austria, the author has conceived it essential to present some preliminary considerations on the condition of the empire prior to the revolution. He has, therefore, reviewed at some length the history of the

races which inhabit the provinces now composing Austria, the manner in which they became subject to the sway of a common sovereign, as well as considered the wholly different circumstances through which they have respectively developed; subjects little understood, yet indispensable to a correct appreciation of subsequent events. No one who has not had occasion to investigate the obscure early history of the various races of Eastern Europe, or who has not attempted to reconcile the contradictory statements of those whose sole aim, in relating more recent events, appears to have been that of extolling one party and ascribing the worst motives and the foulest crimes to their opponents, can have an adequate idea of the obstacles in the way of arriving at truth. In tracing the past history of the Austrian empire, he has relied on the standard authorities; and in reference to events comparatively recent, he has labored, by a full investigation of a vast amount of conflicting evidence, to educe from the confused mass a clear and, as he believes, a reliable statement of facts; while his own views, in many cases, are modified by ample citations from the leading reviews and journals of the day, as well as the most approved works of late travelers and historians. His object has been to give the reader all the facts, and at the same time intimate frankly the various phases of public sentiment. In his comments on the actions of individuals, the reader must bear in mind that three parties are distinctly recognized, the government party, or Monarchists; the Radicals, or reckless agitators; and the intelligent or moderate reformers. It is important that the movements and opinions of each should be distinctly appreciated. The intention has been to report all parties fairly, and to elicit truth from a careful survey of authentic facts. To the author, the examination of these subjects has been replete with interest and instruction, and he ventures to hope that his labors will be favorably regarded by those who follow with interest the general tendency

of events in Europe. To such he commends them, with the sincere conviction that no partisan spirit has dictated the views advanced; while, as an American, he could not be indifferent, first, to the joyful burst of acclamation which hailed the advent of an era of liberty, nor, afterward, to the mournful fate to which the constitutional system in Austria seemed doomed; yet, taught by the duties of his position to regard the momentous events which transpired in such rapid succession around him with the calm reflection which should characterize official station, he has been guided by the same impartial spirit in recounting them.

If, in the elucidation of truth, the author has found it necessary to allude to the errors of all parties, the unpleasant duty has been attempted for that object only, and under the hope that, while interest would be excited by a relation of events in which they were conspicuous, lessons of practical wisdom might at the same time be learned from their exposure.

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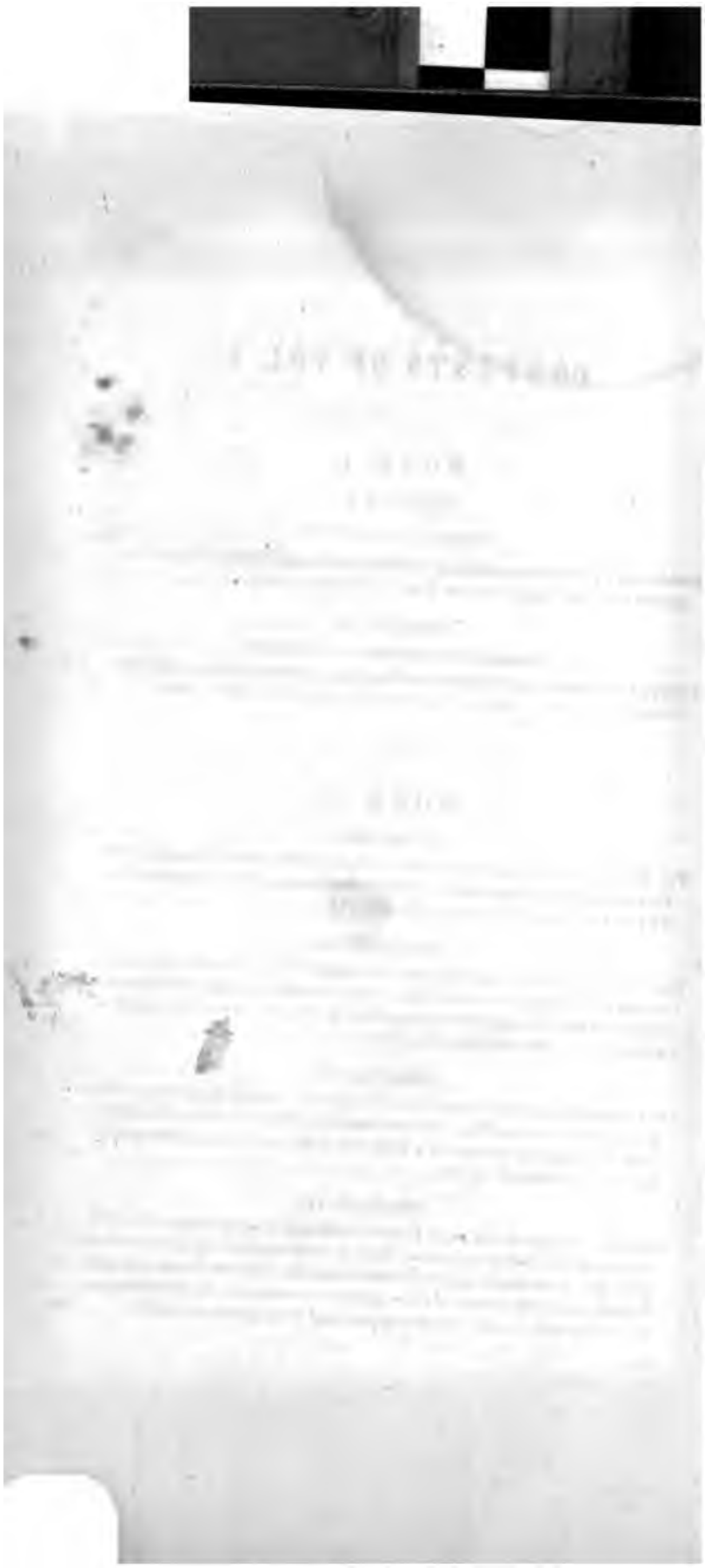
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AUSTRIA IN 1848 AND 1849.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

AUSTRIA AND ITS PROVINCES.—ACCOUNT OF THEIR ORIGIN, AND HISTORY OF THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE EMPIRE, TO THE TREATY OF VIENNA IN 1815.

THE present Empire of Austria, with its two hundred and fifty-six thousand square miles, and thirty-eight millions of inhabitants, was, at the period when its name became first known, literally, as it has been described in a recent state paper, "but as a patch on the earth's surface."*

When the "barbarian irruptions" of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, which overwhelmed the Roman provinces, obliterating the boundaries of Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, Illyricum, and Rhætia, had subsided, the River Ennst was found to constitute the eastern limit of civilization in Central Europe.

On the left bank of this river were established the Bavarians, or Bajoarii, descending from the Boii; and the right bank was inhabited by the Avars, a wild Tatar race.

While the former remained stationary, and lived under their own dukes—recognizing, however, the supremacy of the Frankish kings, by the performance of feudal military service—the latter continued, during the short period of their historical existence, mere lawless invaders and wandering plunderers. After the incorporation of Bavaria with the Frankish empire, Charlemagne marched against the Avars, and sub-

* Letter of Mr. Webster, U. S. Secretary of State, to Chevalier Hülsemann, Dec. 21, 1850.

† The Enns, a small river emptying into the Danube on its right bank, a little below Linz.

dued them, in 791–799. Ten thousand of these barbarians were drowned in the Danube, and the remainder were driven beyond the River Raab, which then became the eastern boundary of the empire.

The territory between the Enns and the Raab, thus vacated by the expulsion of the Avars, known as Avaria, was subsequently called Austria. It was also designated *Marca Orientalis*, or the Eastern Frontier, and the administration and defense of this newly-created fief were committed to margraves. The name given by the Germans to this recently-conquered country was Ostirrichi (Ostirrich, Osterreich, and finally Oesterreich), signifying domain of the East, and appeared for the first time, in the year 996, in an imperial document.

Suabian and Bavarian families, who colonized the country, introduced the first germs of civilization; and the territory, thus limited in extent, formed the nucleus around which, during the lapse of centuries, there have been gathered sixteen great states, besides numerous small principalities, inhabited by four of the seven different races of Europe, among whom are spoken twelve distinct languages and countless dialects, and between whom the only bond of union has been the sway of a common sovereign. What were the different countries that formed this empire—what was the period, and what the manner of their acquisition—whether by conquest, election, succession, or marriage,* the following brief chronological account will make manifest; while, at the same time, it will render more intelligible, if not more interesting, the events and considerations hereafter disclosed.

ARCHDUCHY OF AUSTRIA.

The new margraviate of Austria had existed but a brief period, when it was invaded by the fierce and invincible Magyars (Hungarians, abandoning their homes on the northern

* A great portion of Austria was acquired by marriage with princesses who were heiresses to these kingdoms and principalities. It was thus that Hungary, Bohemia, and the Tyrol were acquired. Hence the lines:

"Bella gerant alii: tu felix Austria, nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."

You, Austria, wed as others wage their wars,
And crowns to Venus owe, as they to Mars.

coasts of the Black Sea, wandered in the plains of the Danube), who, by their victorious arms, acquired the largest portion of this territory.

The empire of the Franks had by this time, on the death of Charlemagne, been divided between France, Italy, and Germany; and Austria, from its geographical position, had fallen to Germany. Louis, "the child"* who then sat on the German throne, terrified by the disasters which encompassed him, consented to the payment of a ten years' tribute to the Magyars, and made Mölk the eastern boundary of the Austrian margraviate. To mark the spot, a royal castle was erected by the Hungarians, on the commanding hill overlooking the Danube, on which now stands the splendid monastery of Mölk, to challenge the admiration of every traveler who descends the waters of that picturesque stream. Margraves of different houses, under the appointment of the emperor, succeeded to the Austrian fief, until 983, when it became hereditary in the family of Babenberg. Leopold von Babenberg having saved the life of Otho the First, of Germany, in a boar hunt, the emperor presented to him the margraviate of Austria as a reward for this service.

After the victory of Otho the First on the Lechfeld (955), the original boundaries of the margraviate were nearly re-established, and the Magyars, driven from Mölk, were compelled to confine themselves within the limits of modern Hungary.

The family of Babenberg ruled in Austria from 982 to 1246, although the succession was not regulated by primogeniture, but solely by the will of the German emperor. The fiefs were, at first, held for a term of years, afterward for life, and finally they became hereditary.

During this period Austria extended its frontiers on the east to the Leitha, which formed for a long time her boundary with the Hungarians; while on the west, in consequence of the struggles between the Hohenstaufen—the reigning family of Germany—and the Welfs—the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria—she gained the country above the Enns, belonging

* "Woe to the land whose king is a child," then preached in Germany, is now repeated by the Hungarians; but the *youth* of the emperor, which then favored the Hungarians, is now regarded as their greatest misfortune.

to Bavaria, and which was taken from the Welfs and conferred by the emperor on his kinsmen, the margraves of Austria, for their highly-esteemed services and fidelity in 1156.

Both territories, that above as well as that below the Enns, were then united, and this enlarged territory was afterward created by Barbarossa—the Emperor Frederick the First—a duchy, and was acknowledged an hereditary fief, with the right to leave it by testament, after the expiration of the male line, to the female posterity.

Besides this, many rights and liberties were granted to the new duchy,* so that Austria may be considered from this period as an established state in the German Confederacy.

STYRIA.

The first accession of territory to the Duchy of Austria was the annexation of Styria, the limits of which, during the reign of Conrad the First, had been gradually extended from the fortress of Steyer on every side.

After the victory of the emperor, Otho the First, over the Hungarians, this territory was added, in 955, to the German empire; and in 1180, Ottocar the Sixth, obtaining the title and powers of duke, disposed of the duchy in favor of his father-in-law, Leopold the Sixth of Austria.

The German feudatories had already become sufficiently powerful to compel the monarchs to respect such testamentary dispositions as they might make of their fiefs; and already had Lothar the Third established a law that fiefs rendered vacant by the extinction of the family of the incumbents should, instead of lapsing to the crown, fall to the next of kin.† Thus the Duke of Austria, in 1192, became legally and rightfully invested with the possession and control of Styria.

* This new duchy was smaller than the present "Austria above and below the Enns," as the southern boundaries were not yet extended to the Semmering Mountain; while, as far as the Piesting River, all belonged to the Carenthanian, and on the east only, as now, the Leitha continued to remain the frontier. After the political organization of Carinthia, Styria belonged to the Marchia Carenthana; but the proprietors of the castle and city of Steyer soon obtained the title of margrave. Leopold the Brave, son of Ottocar of Styria, acquired the largest portion of this marchia by purchase, inheritance, and investiture. From his time the name of his dynasty became attached to the land itself.

† Menzel.

LANDS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PRINCIPALITY OF FREISINGEN, IN CARNIOLA.

In 1229, Leopold the Seventh purchased of the Ecclesiastical Principality of Freisingen certain lands in Carniola, and prepared the way, by this purchase, for the future connection of Carniola with Austria.

Leopold the Seventh, or the Glorious, as he was called, excelled in the administration of internal affairs. He built the palace in Vienna, in which the emperors still reside, and, with the ransom paid by England's king, Richard Cœur de Lion, is said to have constructed the walls which surround the capital. To his brilliant court the most renowned embassadors were dispatched, and Austria shone forth in the highest splendor of the Middle Ages. But, amid all this magnificence, the useful sciences were neglected, and the worthy duke absolutely died for want of a surgeon to amputate a fractured limb. Having fractured his leg by a fall from his horse, he seized an ax, and, placing its edge on the broken limb, ordered his attendant to strike upon it with a mallet; and thus was his leg severed from his body.

With the death of Frederick the Warrior, son of Leopold, in 1246, the male line of the house of Babenberg became extinct. Austria and Styria were then declared vacant fiefs, and provisionally governed by imperial stadtholders. The period from 1246 to 1282, and styled the Austrian interregnum, proved disastrous to the union of both countries. The German emperor was placed under ban by the Pope, and the anti-emperor and the kings of Hungary and Bohemia were enjoined by the pontiff to take possession of the Austrian lands.

The Estates or Diets of Austria and Styria at length elected Ottocar, son of the King of Bohemia, to the office of duke. His father, King Wenzel, having bribed the Austrian deputy, as he passed through Prague on his errand to tender the dukedom to Henry von Meissen, and having also succeeded in inducing the Estates to make choice of his son.

Ottocar having soon after ascended the throne of Bohemia, and having been invested by Richard of Cornwall, the aspirant to the German throne, with the vacant fiefs of Austria

and Styria, and having reduced under his authority the Duchy of Carinthia, and the largest portion of Carniola, with Friul and Istria (bequeathed to him by the Duke Ulrich von Ostenburg, who died without issue), became the most powerful prince of Europe.

Too confident of his power, Ottocar refused to acknowledge the election of the Count Rhodolph of Habsburg as Emperor of Germany (1273), and entered into war with him. On the March-field opposite Vienna, on the same plain where nearly six centuries afterward occurred the famous battles of Aspern and Wagram between the Archduke Charles and Napoleon, Ottocar was totally defeated and slain; and his son, to preserve his hereditary states, was obliged to renounce all claim to the Austrian possessions.

All the lands of Ottocar, except his hereditary states, were now conferred by the emperor on his sons Albert and Rhodolph; but Carinthia, at their request, was reserved by the emperor, and bestowed on Meinhard of Tyrol, father-in-law of Albert, in reward for his services during the war with Ottocar. At the solicitation of the Estates, the emperor (1283) declared Austria and Styria an inalienable and indivisible domain, with their former ancient rights and privileges, vesting the sole administration in Albert, and assigning a specific revenue to Rhodolph and his heirs. From that period the successors of Rhodolph assumed to themselves the title of "Princes of Austria." Indeed, the chief object of Rhodolph seemed to be the confirmation of the Austrian possessions in his family.*

CARINTHIA.

A new accession of territory followed in 1336, upon the death of the Duke of Carinthia. After the invasion of Noricum by the Slavi, and the invaders had retired, Carinthia, a portion of that territory, was occupied by the Carnians (Carantani). From the seventh century they had existed under their own princes, but at the same time acknowledged some dependence upon Bavaria.

* Not content with this, he was also desirous of making the imperial crown hereditary, and of naming his son Albert his successor to the throne. But the refusal of the prince hastened his death, which occurred in 1291.

After the death of Carlman, son of Louis the German, in 880, his illegitimate son Arnulf became Margrave of Carinthia.

In 926 it was separated from Bavaria, by the Emperor Otho the Second, and elected its own dukes.

The last duke of the house of Sponheim, in 1269, declared the King of Bohemia heir of Carinthia, to which belonged also the largest portion of Carniola, with the Friul and Istria.

After the fatal war between the emperor and Ottocar, those lands were transferred to Albert and Rhodolph, sons of the emperor; but, at their request, were resumed by the emperor, and conferred on the Count of Tyrol, who possessed them until 1336. During this year the last Count of Tyrol died, and Carinthia, with all its appendages, reverted to the Dukes of Austria.

This title, however, did not consist so much in the former possession of the land as in the new investiture bestowed upon them by the emperor, who feared the increasing power of the Luxemburgs in Bohemia, and against whom they were now united. The emperor even revoked, on this occasion, the declaration of succession to Carinthia and Tyrol, which he had previously made, in favor of the kings of Bohemia. But the triumph of the King of Bohemia and his allies prevented, then, the transfer of the Tyrol, and Carinthia was, consequently, the sole accession which Austria at that time received.

TYROL.

A still further acquisition took place in 1364. Tyrol, a name derived from the ancient Roman Teriolis, formed a part of Rhætia, and, with the exception of some portions afterward added to Carinthia, had, ever since the sixth century, belonged to Bavaria. The southern part remained occupied by the Longobards. When Henry the Lion was put under the imperial ban, Tyrol was divided, and bishops and counts formed of it separate and independent states.

The most conspicuous of these new masters were the counts of Andecks, who received from the emperor, Frederick the First, the title of dukes. In 1248, the dukes of Meran Andecks, who guarded, according to Hormayer, the frontier of the empire, as far as the shores of the Adriatic (hence their name

Meer-an), becoming extinct on the death of Otho, their possessions fell to their cousin Albert, count of Tyrol, whose daughter Adelheid brought them afterward, in dower, to her husband, Meinhard the First, count of Göritz.

Meinhard left two sons, Meinhard the Second, who inherited the Tyrol, and obtained the investiture of Carinthia from the emperor; and Albert, who succeeded to Göritz. In 1310 the inheritance of Tyrol fell to Henry the Second, father of the famous Margaret, called Maultasch—a name derived, as some authors say, from her pouting lips; or, according to others, from her castle of Maultasch. She procured from the Emperor Louis a decree, recognizing Carinthia and Tyrol as feminine fiefs—a document which he afterward found it expedient to annul, when he chose to invest the dukes of Austria with Carinthia and Tyrol.

After a war between Margaret's adherents and the Austrian princes, Carinthia, together with Carniola, which was attached to it, remained in possession of the latter, and Tyrol was assigned to Margaret.

The marriage of Margaret Maultasch, heiress of the Tyrol, with Louis of Bavaria, not having been confirmed by the Pope, her son Meinhard was branded as illegitimate. Through the exertions of Rhodolph the Fourth, duke of Austria, the pontiff was induced to sanction the marriage, and to establish the legitimacy of Meinhard, on whom he then bestowed the hand of his sister Margaret. In gratitude for these favors, Margaret Maultasch gave the reversion of the Tyrol to the dukes of Austria, should her husband and son die without issue.

After the death of her husband in 1361, and that of her son in 1363, Rhodolph, fearful lest the Bavarian princes should obtain possession of the Tyrol by virtue of the marriage contract of Margaret with Louis, which secured the reversion of that province, in failure of his issue, to the house of Lower Bavaria, crossed the Alps, with great difficulty and danger, in the depth of winter, and prevailed on Margaret to ratify the former grant, and to yield to him immediate possession of the Tyrol. But a far greater difficulty yet remained, that of obtaining the sanction of the emperor to the arrangement; for, notwithstanding the tie of Rodolph's marriage with Catha-

rine, the daughter of the Emperor Charles, the natural jealousies of the houses of Austria and Luxemburg had occasioned frequent contests between them. At this juncture, Rhodolph and his three brothers united in a league with the kings of Hungary and Poland against the emperor as king of Bohemia.

Fortunately, however, Catharine was enabled to effect a reconciliation between her father and husband, and in 1364 a meeting took place at Brünn between Charles and the Austrian princes, when Charles confirmed the donation of Margaret, invested Rhodolph with the Tyrol, and even entered into a family compact with the Austrian princes for the reciprocal reversion—in failure of male issue—of their respective territories.*

In the same year (1364) Rhodolph and his brothers concluded a compact with Albert the Fourth, count of Göritz, a collateral branch of the house of Tyrol, which opened the way to the subsequent acquisition, by the Austrian house, of the counties of Göritz, and of Gradisca and Mittenburg.

FELDKIRCH.

In 1375, Leopold the Third purchased the claims of the Count of Feldkirch for 36,000 gold guldens, and this beautiful country was added to the Duchy of Austria. With Feldkirch was also purchased a portion of the county of Bregenz, called the Innerwald.†

TRIESTE.

In 1382 the territory of Trieste was acquired. This was originally a Roman colony, and from the time of the visit of Constantine the Great to Italy, after the defeat of Maxentius, became attached to the Occidental empire, and remained subject to the exarchat of Ravenna, until the contest between the Pope Virgilius and the Bishop of Aquileia in the sixth century. It afterward fell to the dukes of the Friul; and in 973 be-

* Coxe's House of Austria.

The same Rhodolph, provoked by the article of the Golden Bull, which gave the electors precedence over all other princes, assumed the title of Archduke Palatine; but the title was dropped by his successors, until confirmed by the Emperor Frederick the Third, 1453.

† Jos. Bergmann.

came subject to the Patriarch of Aquileia, and soon afterward to the Count of Göritz. In 1202, the city placed herself under the protection of Venice. During the Venetian wars, the inhabitants, dissatisfied with the government of Venice, rebelled, and surrendered themselves to the confederate forces, and the sovereignty of the city was again transferred to the Patriarch of Aquileia. But the people, harassed with intestine commotions, and finding the new sovereign too weak to protect them against their former rulers, whose dominion they dreaded, offered their submission to Leopold the Second of Austria. He acceded to their overtures, promised to respect their privileges and preserve their municipal government, appointed a captain or prefect in the city, and thus secured to the house of Austria this most important port of the Adriatic.*

PLUDENTZ, WITH THE VALLEY OF MONTAVON

In 1394 the Duke Leopold the Second, who equaled his ancestors in his eagerness to increase his possessions, pur-

* It should here be remarked that the Austrian possessions became divided in 1379 between the two brothers Albert and Leopold; that by this division two lines were formed—the Austrian and the Styrian. The possessions of the last of the Austrian line (of Albert) devolved on the Styrian line in 1457; and the lands became again divided between the members of this line, until the year 1496, when Maximilian the First reunited the Austrian possessions.

Not only had the family compact, but the imperial investiture, established the indivisibility of the Austrian territories, and vested the administration in the eldest brother, but the discordant characters of the two Austrian princes proved fatal to the family union; and Leopold applied for and obtained the consent of the emperor to the division, who, in readily yielding his sanction, Charles remarked, "We have long labored in vain to humble the house of Austria, and now the dukes of Austria have humbled themselves." The rapid development of the European states during this age, together with the political and religious disturbances, required a strong head and powerful arm for the occupant of the German throne; and as, in these respects, the German princes were inferior to the Austrian, it was very natural that selections should be made for that post from the latter house.

With the election of the reserved Albert the Fifth to the German throne, in 1438, who died the following year, began the unbroken chain of German emperors elected from the Austrian house. Thus began, in the Middle Ages, the connection of Austria with Germany by the union of the crown in the person of the same monarch. This connection continued until August 1st, 1806, when, upon the *fiat* of Napoleon, and the construction of the Confederation of the Rhine, the empire was dissolved. In consequence, Austria laid aside the imperial crown of Germany, adopting, instead, the imperial crown of Austria, and Francis the Second of Germany became Francis the First of Austria.

chased from the Count Albert of Werdenberg the county of Pludentz, with the valley of Montavon.*

CASTRIA.

This Estate, now in the province of Illyria, was purchased in 1400.

THE "VORDERWALD" OF THE COUNTY OF BREGENZ.

The remainder of the former county of Bregenz, called "The Vorderwald," was sold by Elizabeth, wife of the margrave, William of Hochberg, to the Archduke Sigismund of Austria, in 1451.

SONNENBERG.

The county of Sonnenberg, in Tyrol, was bought by the Archduke Sigismund for 34,000 gold guldens, in 1474.

GÖRITZ, GRADISCA, MITTENBERG, AND THE PUSTERTHAL.

In 1500 the counties of Göritz, Gradisca, Mittenberg, and the Pusterthal were escheated to the princes of Austria. These lands constituted an important acquisition from their extent and their local situation, as they joined the frontiers of Carinthia and Carniola, and connected those countries with the territory of Trieste. The Counts of Göritz and those of Tyrol were probably of the same descent. The first mention of the Counts of Göritz is found under the Emperor Henry the Fifth.

In 1362, Albert the Fourth, Count of Göritz, concluded a compact with Rodolph, Duke of Austria, by virtue of which his possessions were to fall to Austria on the extinction of the male succession. In 1500 the male line ceased, upon the death of Count Leonard, and his three counties fell to Maximilian of Austria.

Subsequently to this acquisition, Gradisca was bestowed by Ferdinand the Third, in 1641, on the princes of Eggenberg; but in 1717 it fell back again to Austria, after that line became extinct.

* Jos. Bergmann's Frühseste Kunde über den Bregenzerwald, &c.

BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND AUSTRIAN SILESIA.

A most important acquisition of territory was made by Austria in the annexation of Bohemia, together with Moravia and Silesia.

Bohemia was, as Tacitus relates, inhabited by the Boji, who, one hundred years (P. C. U.) were driven from it by the Marcomanni. After the irruptions of the Huns, Goths, and Lombards, the Marcomanni were, in turn, expelled, and their places supplied by a new people from the East, called Czecks, of whom the earliest accounts are fabulous and obscure.

In the eighth century, Crocus reigned in Bohemia. His daughter and successor was the prophetess Libussa,* and her husband the peasant Przemisl, the Bohemian Cincinnatus, who was called from the plow to the highest office of state.

As among the Slavian nations generally, so with the Czecks, the first elements of their political constitution were patriarchal and democratic. Their chiefs afterward obtained the title of dukes, and, still later, that of kings.

After the treaty of Verdun, in 843, when the country had been subdued by the Franks, under Charlemagne, Bohemia was added to the German empire, although the dukes had been indefatigable in their efforts to preserve its independence.†

The sovereignty of the country, however, always rested with their own princes. They, in conjunction with the Estates, made the laws, declared war, concluded treaties, &c., without the sanction of the German emperor.

The Duke Wratislaus was the first who received the royal dignity. It was in 1086; at which time, also, Moravia was declared a margraviate. With Wenzel the Third, who was slain in 1306, terminated the race of native Bohemian kings, and the Estates elected, in 1309, John of Luxemburg, son of the German emperor, to the vacant throne.

The last king of the line of Luxemburg in Bohemia was

* After the death of Libussa broke out "the War of the Maid-servants," under the celebrated Wlasta. This war of the Bohemian Amazons is replete with wild and picturesque legends.

† The tribute imposed on the conquered Bohemians was only one hundred and twenty fattened oxen.

Sigismond, who died in 1437, after having recommended to the principal nobles of Bohemia and Hungary (for he was also king of the latter country) his son-in-law, Albert the Fifth of Austria, who had rendered him essential service in the Hussite war, as his successor. Sigismond wept on this occasion, and concluded his address to the Estates as follows: "I beseech you by these tears, comfort my soul, which is departing to God, by confirming my choice and fulfilling my will." Though repeated compacts had been made between the Bohemian and Austrian sovereigns, they had been ineffectual in transferring the crown, so long as the Estates continued to reserve to themselves the right of election. Albert died in 1439, and many contests between the various pretenders took place, until George Podiebrad, a simple, but true and resolute nobleman, was raised to the throne, and which he occupied until his death, in 1471.

The Estates then made choice of Wladislaus, a Polish prince of the house of Jaghello; and upon the death of his son Louis, who lost his young and vagabond life in the battle of Mohatz, in 1526, the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, rendered vacant by his death, were then claimed by Ferdinand of Austria, under a double title: one derived from family compacts, which secured the reversion to the house of Austria in failure of male issue to the reigning family; the other through his wife, the only sister of the deceased monarch, to whom the Estates of Bohemia once promised the crown, in case Louis should die without nearer successors. The Bohemians and Hungarians would neither respect these compacts nor acknowledge his claims as husband of the princess, and Ferdinand, prudently waving these pretensions, offered himself according to the usual mode of election. On the 26th of October, 1526, he was elected by a committee of twenty persons, appointed by the Estates to choose a king to succeed Louis; and on the 4th of February, 1527, Ferdinand was duly crowned, with his wife Anne, in the cathedral at Prague.

Since this period Bohemia has remained united with Austria. Ferdinand the Second, who soon succeeded to the throne, having abolished all the rights and privileges of the Estates, which he had sworn to observe, rendered the throne of Bohemia hereditary in the house of Austria.



Moravia, which fell together with Bohemia to Ferdinand the First, formed, in the eighth century, a Slavic kingdom. The king, Samoslaw, was defeated by Charlemagne, and Moravia became subject to his successors. The German margraves placed over them Wilhelm and Engelschalk, who treated the Moravians so arbitrarily that they rebelled. Swatopluk,* the nephew of the Moravian Prince Rastiz, left his honorable confinement at Ratisbon, under pretext of appearing against them, but in truth to make common cause with them. The armies sent into Moravia against them were defeated, but Swatopluk was victorious on the Danube, and laid the country waste until the weak and despicable "Charles the Thick" appeared, in 884, in person, to sue for peace. Swatopluk not only preserved, but extended his dominion. After the death of Swatopluk, the kingdom of Moravia was divided, and portions of it fell to Germany, to Poland, and to Hungary. That part of it which lay next to Bohemia placed itself under the protection of the Bohemian Duke Wratislaus the First, who defeated the Hungarians and annexed this portion of Moravia to his possessions. The Bohemian Duke Udalrich, and after him Brzetislaus, acquired still more of the dissolved kingdom, so that, in 1026, Moravia embraced about the same extent of country that it does at this day.

The dukes and kings of Bohemia left Moravia at different times as a fief to their sons or successors. Since the dissolution of the kingdom, the Moravian territory has remained constantly annexed to Bohemia, and its affairs administered, from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, by relatives of the Bohemian kings.

With Bohemia and Moravia there also fell to Austria that portion of Silesia which, after the wars of Austria and Prussia, was continued in possession of Austria by the treaties of 1742, 1745, and 1763, and embrace at this time but two small circles. This province was in the tenth century subdued by the dukes of Poland, and in 1163 was divided into three parts, and assigned to their own princes. In the thirteenth century the whole territory was divided into so many portions that a de-

* Zwentibald.

fense against the Mongols could only be effected by successive submissions to the Bohemian kings. Charles the Fourth declared Silesia a fief of Bohemia, and incorporated it with Germany. After the second half of the seventeenth century, the last Silesian Piast died, and the whole of Silesia was then united to Bohemia as an *accessorium*.

PRINCIPALITIES OF GURK, LEKAU, AND LAVANT.

In the year 1521, there existed within the limits of Austria, lying mostly in her own provinces, three petty but independent principalities, viz., those of the bishops of Gurk, of Lekau, and of Lavant, which in the course of time were either purchased or merely secularized, and submitted to the authority of the house of Habsburg.

HUNGARY AND CROATIA.

The disastrous and untimely death of King Louis of Hungary resulted in the annexation of this country to Austria. The territory now known as Hungary was formerly embraced in the Roman province called Pannonia, and a part of that of Dacia. Afterward it was successively occupied by the Huns, Goths, and Gepidæ, between the years 489 and 526; by the Lombards until 568; and later by the Avars.

In the year 889, the Magyar,* an Asiatic tribe, driven from their homes beyond the Ural Mountains by the Petchenegues, under their leader Arpad, invaded Hungary, then parceled out among several petty lords and princes, who formed a kind of federal aristocracy, or union of clans, owing a limited obedience to a superior or chief.

The Magyars, under Arpad and his posterity, overran, plundered, and left desolate a large portion of the Continent, particularly the centre of Europe.

These formidable enemies, whose active cavalry it was almost useless to attack, and who at this early period displayed great strategic skill, were first defeated by Henry the First, emperor of Germany, at Merseberg, in 933. Their last in-

* A name derived, as M. De Besse says, from the Tatar *Madjar*, meaning a long car or wagon, still in common use in Hungary.



cursion into Bavaria, in 954 and 955, terminated in their complete overthrow on the Lech, by Otho the First of Germany. They gradually learned from the Slavonians and Germans, whom they conquered, the arts of peace, and, dropping their migratory habits, became settled in the valleys of the Danube and Theiss, and devoted themselves to agriculture.

Stephen, the son of Geysa (third in descent from Arpad, and who was the first to embrace Christianity), attained the dukedom in the year 1000. For the services rendered to Christianity "in extirpating the heathen," he was raised by Pope Sylvester the Second to the dignity of king, with the approval of the German emperor, Otho the Third. The monarchy was elective, but the legitimate heir was generally the individual elevated by election to the throne. Stephen, during his reign, added Transylvania to the Hungarian kingdom. Under the succeeding reign in 1077, Croatia and Slavonia were also annexed to the Hungarian crown.

The male descendants of the house of Arpad sat upon the throne of Hungary four hundred years, but with Andrew the Third the male line became extinct in 1301.

The unsettled state of the succession to the crown, and the consequent interference of the neighboring princes and of the Roman court in the domestic concerns of Hungary; the inveterate hatred of the Magyars to all foreigners (a characteristic they still retain, and which proved so fatal to them in the late revolution); the arrogance of the clergy and nobility; the crusades; and the steady advance of the Mongul hordes on Eastern Europe, long retarded the prosperity of the country.

The crown next passed, by election of the Diet, to the house of Anjou, whose princes claimed their descent from Arpad through the female line. Under the princes of this house Hungary attained the summit of its power. The dominion of the Hungarian throne extended from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic; the University of Buda was founded, and the court of Hungary became the resort of men of learning and science from all parts of Europe.

In 1526, on the invasion of the Turks, and the death of the youthful King Louis without heirs, in the disastrous battle of Mohatz, the crown of Hungary became again vacant.

Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who had married his cousin Anne, daughter of Ladislaus and sister of Louis, the late king of Hungary and Bohemia, presented himself as a candidate for the vacant throne. His personal character, his connection with the royal family of Hungary, and the assistance he might be expected to obtain from his brother, the emperor, in the war against the Turks, prevailed over the national antipathy to Austria, and he was, though not without much difficulty, elected to the throne.

In 1505 an attempt was made by Count Zapolya, a powerful magnate, for the passage of an act to revive an ancient law, to the effect that, in the event of a failure of the royal line, the choice of a sovereign should be limited to *natives* of Hungary. On the death of Louis, the party which had supported Zapolya declared in favor of his succession to the throne. A civil war ensued, in which Ferdinand was at length successful, and in 1547 he was regularly installed in the regal office, which has ever since been filled by his descendants, the emperors of Germany and Austria, as kings of Hungary. 1521

The Emperor of Germany surrendered to Ferdinand the crown of Austria; and thus were the three crowns of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, for the first time, united in a prince of the house of Habsburg.*

The monarchy of Hungary continued to be elective, and the nation continued to give a preference to the heirs of the late monarch. The princes of the house of Habsburg, who succeeded to the throne of Austria, and were thus successively elected to that of Hungary, were separately crowned in the latter kingdom, according to its ancient customs, and at their coronation took the same oath to support the laws, Constitution, rights, and privileges of the Hungarians which Ferdinand the First had taken. In 1687, the Diet of Hungary decreed that the throne, which had hitherto been elective, should thenceforward be hereditary in the *male* heirs of the house of Habsburg; and in 1723, the Diet, by assenting to the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles the Third of Hungary (Charles the Sixth of Germa-

* These states were altogether independent of each other, and had no other bond of connection than the accidental union of the crowns in one person.



ny), extended the right of succession to the *female* descendants of that prince.*

By these steps has Hungary, with its dependencies, become permanently attached to the Austrian dominions.

The mode of annexation with Hungary was precisely similar to that of Bohemia. In both instances the connection commenced by the acts of their respective Diets in electing members of the Habsburg family to the throne, and ended in the foul intrigues and usurpations by which the descendants of the same family succeeded in crushing the liberties of the people, and converting those free and elective monarchies into their own enslaved and hereditary kingdoms.

Of all the *partes annexæ regni Hungariæ*, Croatia alone formed a considerable part of Hungary, the remainder having been seized in the several invasions of the Turks.

Croatia, in the time of Augustus, belonged to Illyria, which, by the division of the Roman empire, passed to the Greek emperors.

After the downfall of the Western Roman empire, the Avars became masters of the country, but were expelled from it in the seventh century, by the Chrobati (Horvatit), a Slavian tribe, who descended upon them from the Northern Mountains. They remained under their own chiefs (zupans), who were at first dependent upon the Frankish, and later upon the Greek emperors, and finally became, for a short period, altogether independent. Their first king was called Dircesla. After the extinction of his house, about the end of the eleventh century, the Croatians, as their historians maintain, submitted themselves to the Hungarians.

The indivisibility of the hereditary provinces of the house of Habsburg passed into a law in 1621.

TRANSYLVANIA.

Although Transylvania became united with Hungary in the year 1002, and so remained until 1526, it became in that year separated from Hungary, under its own voyvod, John Zapolya,

* For the influence exercised in effecting these changes, see book ii., chap. vi.
† Horvati, from Hora, a mountain.

and his heirs, until 1699, when it was again annexed to Hungary and the Austrian dominions.

This country was the Dacia Mediterranea of the Romans, and for one hundred and seventy years formed a province of that empire, until subdued by the barbarians, when the Romans abandoned the country. The names of Trajan, who conquered the country; of Constantine,* who sent back their prisoners handless; and of Aurelius, who carried away the legions and left the country to the invaders, are still familiar to the inhabitants of Transylvania. After the Romans, this country was successively invaded by Goths, Huns, Gepidæ, and Avars, until the Gyla, a race of the Petchenegues, the early settlers of the country, together with the remnants of the Roman descendants, were conquered by the Magyars in the year 1002.

The Magyars called it Sylvana Regio, the land of woods; and, from its location on the southeastern extremity of Hungary, gave to this Dacia Mediterranea the name of Ultra or Transylvania.

In the twelfth century, Geysa the Second, king of Hungary, probably with a view of protecting his southern frontiers, and at the same time of introducing the arts of civilization among his rude subjects, encouraged the emigration of Saxon settlers in Transylvania. In 1160 they founded Hermanstadt, and have to the present day preserved their native language, customs, and privileges. In 1222, Andrew the Second granted to them more extensive privileges. They remained separate as a Saxon nation; paid merely a small tax, which they themselves were allowed to fix; elected a count of their own nation, who, in recognition of his newly-received rank, was honored with the present of a banner, a sabre, and a club. The Szecklers, another nation in Transylvania, entered the country about the same time with the Magyars, and are supposed to be a branch of the same race.

After the death of Louis, king of Hungary, in the battle of Mohacs, Transylvania fell to John Zapolya, the opponent of Ferdinand the First of Austria, and voyvod of Transylvania, who was protected by the Sultan of the Osmans. Transylva-

* See the handless Dacians on Constantine's Arch, at Rome.



nia was then governed by elective princes, but tributary to the Porte. The Austrian princes, however, could never forget that rich country, and its former annexation to the Hungarian crown.

After a long and bloody contest between the Turks and the princes of Transylvania and Austria, Michel Apafi, a native prince, resigned in favor of Austria, and the whole country, at a later day, passed as a princedom to Austria; and this compact was duly recognized by the Turks, in the treaty of Carlowitz, in 1699, concluded with Austria after their defeat at Zenta, in 1697.

SLAVONIA.

By the treaty of Carlowitz, the Austrian princes also acquired a part of Slavonia. The first inhabitants of this land had been the Scortisci, after whom followed the Pannonians. After it was subdued by the Romans, it received the name of Pannonia Savia. During the great migration of nations, the Avars took possession of this land, but they were subsequently conquered by Pepin, the son of Charlemagne. The land was then laid waste and completely deserted, and Slavonians were called in from Dalmatia, by the Germans, to settle it. Slavonians lived under their own princes as early as the time of Louis the Pious.

In 1079, the country was conquered by the Magyars; in 1524, by the Turks, who created there a paschalic; and finally by Leopold the First of Austria, to whom it was then ceded by the Turks, in the treaty of Carlowitz, 1699.

MANTUA.

In the year 1708, the house of Austria made its first acquisition in Italy—it was the Duchy of Mantua. Mantua belonged first to the Longobardian union of cities, and preserved its authority and privileges even during the long and atrocious contest with the German emperors. As in other parts of Italy, so in Lombardy, the power and influence of certain families arose to such a pitch that it resulted in their obtaining hereditary possession of those cities or districts.

From the year 1328 Mantua was governed by her own

princes, the Gonzagas, whose memory is still dear to the Mantuans. The emperor, Charles the Fourth, recognized the dignity of the Gonzagas as vicars of the state of Mantua. The Emperor Sigismond erected it into a margraviate; and Charles the Fifth made it a duchy. But when, in the Spanish War of Succession, the Duke of Mantua, Charles the Fourth (from the house of Nevers), whose hatred against the Austrians was so great as to induce him to take part against Joseph the First; the latter put him under the ban, and executed it by appropriating Mantua in 1707.

MILAN.

A still further addition of Italian territory followed in 1714, by the annexation of the Duchy of Milan. This country, now known as Lombardy, derived its name from the Lombards or Longobardi, with their long beards,* who first occupied the districts in Pannonia which the Ostrogoths had abandoned. Their king, Alboin, who drank from the skull of the king whom he had conquered, had been invited by the valiant eunuch and rebel, Narses, to assist him in the invasion of Italy. Milan was taken, and sacked by him and his Longobardi. The Lombards took possession of the upper part, and Pavia became their capital. Lombardy formed, in the eighth century, a part of the Frankish empire, having been conquered by Pepin, son of Charles Martel. After the dissolution of the Frankish empire, Milan, though called an imperial city, was still independent.

The Emperor Barbarossa, irritated by the insolence of its inhabitants, or instigated by the neighboring rival cities, razed it to the ground, and, if some historians are to be credited, tore up its foundations, and passed the plowshare over its ruins.

These cities of Lombardy with their territories, in the thirteenth century, formed numerous independent republics. All became more or less opulent and powerful, but they were harassed by external and internal discord, and, before the end of the thirteenth century, Milan was under the rule of Signori.

* Their name has also been derived from the word Hellebard, a halbert.—MENZEL.

Next ruled the Torreani, and then the Visconti, whose pastors, like the Roman pontiffs, after having long been the benefactors and fathers of their flocks, at length became their sovereigns. The most distinguished of these, both by his military talents and the useful institutions which he introduced, was John Galleazzo Visconti, who purchased of the Roman emperor Wenzel, in 1395, the ducal dignity for 100,000 gold guldens. The dynasty of Visconti becoming extinct in 1447, the Milanese then elected the natural daughter of the last duke, Bianca Maria, whose husband was Francisco Sforza. But the family of the Visconti, having formed matrimonial connections with the royal dynasty of France, this dynasty, on the extinction of the Visconti, laid claim to their territories, and made repeated attempts, with various success, to take possession of them. These attempts at length terminated in the decisive battle of Pavia, which broke the French power in Italy, when Milan was declared a fief of the Roman-German empire. Upon the extinction of the last Sforza in 1535, the Emperor Charles the Fifth invested his son Philip, afterward King of Spain, with Milan, which then remained attached to the Spanish crown until 1700, when, on the death of Charles the Second, the Habsburg family became extinct in Spain. The destinies of the duchy followed the Spanish War of Succession, which ended with the treaty of Baden in 1714, and by which Milan was taken possession of by the Emperor Charles the Sixth, and by him added to the dominions of Austria.

BANAT AND CITY OF TEMESWAR, AND THE TURKISH POSSESSIONS ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE SAVA RIVER.

The remainder of Hungary and of the parts annexed, which, after the treaty of Carlowitz, continued still under the dominion of the Turks, viz., the Banat and city of Temeswar, and the Turkish possessions on the left bank of the River Sava, were acquired by Austria in 1718, by the treaty of Passarovitz.

With the death of Charles the Sixth, the *male* line of the Habsburgs became extinct. He was succeeded by his daughter, Maria Theresa, whose husband was Francis, duke of Lorraine. The Pragmatic Sanction by which Charles would

assure the female succession in Germany, produced long and serious wars among the European powers. The electoral votes were finally cast, in 1745, for Francis of Lorraine, who opened a new line, which reigned in Germany for fifty-nine years, and rules in Austria at this day.

HOHENEMBS.

In 1759 the county of Hohenembs, in Tyrol, was rendered a vacant imperial fief by the death of Count Francis William Maximilian, and, by the conclusion of the imperial court council in 1765, bestowed upon the house of Austria, to which it remained, even after the dissolution of the German empire.

CASTIGLIONE.

In 1773, the small principality of Castiglione, west of the lake of Garda, in Italy, was purchased by Austria for 200,000 florins.

BUKOWINA.

In 1777, Bukowina was acquired from Turkey by a treaty of boundaries.

This province belonged originally to Transylvania, and subsequently to 1482 to Moldavia.

In 1774 it was conquered by Russia, and delivered over to Austria, a transfer which the Porte recognized in the above-mentioned treaty.

POLAND.

During the whole geographical development of Austria, from the time of the first Babenberg until the latter part of the eighteenth century, no acquisition of territory occurs which could not be defended or justified under some legitimate, or, at all events, specious title; but such is far from being the case with Poland, whose divisions between the three great powers is without excuse or justification, as it is without a parallel in the history of civilized nations.

Poland was settled by a Slavic tribe, and acquired its name from a Slavic word, signifying a plain, from the level character of the country, which is one of the most extensive plains in Europe.

Until the reign of the family of Piasts, and the introduction of Christianity, which occurred about a century after, the early accounts of Poland are too intimately blended with the fabulous to be relied on.

The family of Piasts, who came to the throne in the year 830, preserved their authority, with some interruption, until 1386, when that dynasty became extinct by the death of Casimir the Great, and that of the Jaghellos commences. The Jaghellos reigned until 1572, when the constitution of Poland underwent a great change, and the crown became elective.

The period following the extinction of the Jaghellos seemed to prepare the way for the eventual downfall of the country. The arbitrary power of the nobility, the absurd right of the *liberum veto*,* the luxury and licentiousness produced by the sudden acquirement of liberty, undermined the moral and physical power of the people, and rendered them supple instruments in their own destruction.

"With the interference of Russia in the regal elections, commences," says Rotteck, "the history of the passion of Poland, and opens the most gloomy drama in modern history."

August the Third ascended the throne of Poland by the will of Russia, and through his whole reign proved himself rather a Russian officer than a Polish king.

After the death of August, in 1763, the Diet assembled, surrounded by Russian troops. Its first endeavor was to amend the Constitution, and to abolish the fatal veto; but the Prussian and Russian embassadors would not consent, nor permit them to pass any laws except a few of an unimportant character on the subject of subsistence, &c.

On the 6th of September, 1764, the members finally made choice of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, whose election was altogether owing to the fact of his being one of the favorites of the Empress Catharine—the northern Clytemnestra—who then sat upon the throne of her murdered husband.

The animosities between the Catholics and the dissidents, who contended for equality of rights, were fomented by Cath-

* *Liberum veto* was the right by which every representative (nuntius terrestris) at the "Free Diet" could defeat with his own vote a law, and even dismiss the whole assembly, as it happened in 1652.

arine, and her troops behaved with the utmost insolence. A civil war and a struggle against the Russian intruders agitated the unhappy country. Futile old claims were trumped up against Poland, and the king and people both invoked justice, but in vain, for the fatal hour of Poland's doom had come. The conscience of the Austrian princess was relieved by her confessor (a Jesuit, who undertook to intercede for her at Rome), and by the purchased opinions of hireling jurists; the Russian empress had no conscience to relieve; and the Prussian king expressed his readiness to share the booty and shame; and thus the definitive treaty between Austria and Russia and Prussia was concluded in 1772, and Poland dismembered.

Austria's portion of the spoils was consolidated and annexed to the Austrian territories, under the ancient appellation of the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria. A third part of the Polish kingdom was thus divided among the royal plunderers.

To add insult to injury, a Diet was convoked under the influence of the great powers, to legalize this outrage, by giving their sanction to the dismemberment of their country, after possession had already been taken. A majority of six votes in the senate, and one in the assembly of nuncios, sanctioned this base act in 1773.

After a period of ever-varying destinies, Poland once more attempted to assume the attitude of a sovereign state. By a change of the Constitution in 1791, Poland became a hereditary instead of an elective monarchy. The Elector of Saxony was declared the successor, the throne made hereditary in his house, and the king, with the Council of State, invested with the executive power. The Diet was to continue in two chambers, with the abrogation of the *liberum veto;* all the privileges of the nobility were confirmed, though some favors were accorded to the citizens and peasants.

To these proceedings on the part of Poland, Catharine, involved in a war with the Turks, observed an intentional and ominous silence; but as soon as the peace of Jassy left her free, Poland was again divided between Russia and Prussia, and lost all but a third of her former territory in 1793, and Russian bayonets again compelled the indignant Diet to ac-

quiesce in this dismemberment of their country. The remnant of Poland was now under Russian guardianship.

The heroic Kosciusko, unable to submit quietly to this degradation, became the head of the confederates of Cracow in 1794, and in the holy contest for their country, Warsaw and Wilna were liberated. The battle of Raclawice, and the relief of Warsaw, besieged by a Prussian army in 1794, are the most glorious periods of Polish history. But it was too late. Without fortresses, discipline, allies, or even arms, surrounded by Russians, Austrians, and Prussians, the convulsive efforts of national despair were unavailing, and "this barrier and outwork of Brandenburg," as Frederick the Great called it, against the barbarians of the North, was broken down. In the third partition of Poland, Austria obtained West Galicia; Russia and Prussia received their respective shares; and there remained to the unhappy Poles nothing but wounded feelings and national pride, a bitter hate against Russians and Germans, and fruitless appeals for French aid and public sympathy.

CIRCLE OF THE INN.

Within the periods embraced by the two acquisitions of Polish territory, Austria obtained the province of the Inn or Innkreis. Joseph the Second, then at the head of the Austrian dominions, on the death of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, without issue, in 1777, persuaded the next heir, Charles Theodore, to cede Lower Bavaria to Austria. The so-called Potato War ensued.

Frederick the Second of Prussia espoused the cause of Maria Anna, the talented widow of Duke Clement Charles, Theodore's sister-in-law, who placed herself at the head of the Bavarians. Neither party seemed in earnest. Frederick was old and infirm, and Maria Theresa, who conducted the negotiations without the knowledge of her son, too timid for efficient action. A compromise was finally effected by the treaty of Teshen in 1779, in which Austria agreed to accept the province of Inn, and to relinquish the remainder of the disputed territories to Bavaria.

VENICE, DALMATIA, AND ISTRIA.

In 1797 the Austrian dominions received a most important addition by the acquisition of two thirds of the republic of Venice, including Dalmatia, its islands, the Venetian part of Istria, and the Bocca di Cattaro. The origin of this republic dates from the time of Attila, the leader of the Huns, who, invited* by Honoria, the sister of the Roman emperor Valentinian, crossed the Alps into Italy in 452. Desolation, rapine, and slaughter marked the progress of this self-styled "Scourge of God." On the extreme western point of the Adriatic Sea dwelt the Veneti, whose territories, called Venetia, formed a part of Cis-Alpine Gaul. Many of the inhabitants of this region, on the approach of the Huns, fled for refuge to the small marshy islands of the Adriatic, at the mouth of the Brenta, on which they built the town of Riva Alta—high banks—afterward called Venice. Sheltered by their position and their poverty, they continued gradually to increase, so that, by the end of the seventh century, they occupied not less than seventy-two islands.

The maritime situation of Venice rendered the inhabitants expert in navigation; her commerce increased, and power extended. She was the recipient of all the treasures of the East, and at length became not only "Queen of the Adriatic," but mistress of the Mediterranean.

The provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, exposed to the ravages of pirates, a prey to civil dissensions, and unsupported by the dying Greek empire, threw themselves under the protection and dominion of Venice.

Vicenza, Verona, Bassano, Feltre, Belluno, and Padua, with their territories, fell to Venice in 1402, and Friuli in 1421.

Venice, after an independent existence of more than thirteen hundred years, submitted without a blow, on the demand of Napoleon, to be blotted from the list of nations. "Lost in stupor for a century," says Heeren, "this republic had resorted, in the conflict of the more powerful, to neutrality, the usual defense of weak states. She had long outlived herself;

* By the offer of her hand in marriage.

but her fall first disclosed her utter weakness. She was not only without energy, but without counsel. She fell, the victim of convenience and the desire of contiguity of possessions. But, apart from this, how could a constitution exist which stood in the most direct contradiction to the prevailing maxims of the age."*

By the treaty of Campo Formio (1797) Austria renounced all its claims to the Netherlands in favor of France, but obtained, in lieu thereof, the territory of Venice, from the Adige River to the Adriatic; the city of Venice itself; the Venetian Istria, Dalmatia, with the islands, and Bocca di Cattaro.

Dalmatia, now a province of Austria, receives its name, according to Strabo, from the town of Dalmium or Delmium. The inhabitants of this country, who were conquered by Octavius, were a union of different tribes, mostly pirates, and utter barbarians. The latter Roman emperors enriched the land with cities and palaces, and Diocletian exchanged even the throne of Rome for the gardens of the proud Salona. After the death of Honorius, Dalmatia was united to the Byzantine empire, and formed a part of Illyricum.

The inhabitants who appeared upon the soil after the barbarian invasions of Alaric, Attila, and the Ostrogoths, were of the Slavic race, and they still populate the country, while the towns are mostly made up of Italians.

As was the case with the Western Roman Empire, so also with the Eastern, the distant boundaries of the empire were left unprotected, and the Franks were enabled to extend their limits to the Sava River.

Following the example of the Croats, a part of the Dalmatian cities submitted to the dominion of Charlemagne. But the Frankish supremacy lasted only fifty years. The Greeks again took possession of the country at the end of the ninth century, and permitted all the cities and inhabitants on the coast to be subject to the princes of Croatia, in order to obtain protection against the Saracens, and the Narentini, who were the pirates of their own country.

But as perfect and complete protection to commerce at that

* Heeren's Historical Researches.

period could only be obtained from the Venetians, they submitted themselves to the city of the Lagunes, and remained under their dominion until the peace of Campo Formio.

The first inhabitants of Istria were probably emigrants from the city of Istrianopolis, at the mouth of the Ister, or Danube, though several derive them from Jason, or his persecutors at Colchis. The Istrians harassed the Roman merchants on the Adriatic, and the Roman consul* sent to demand satisfaction. Having by his insolence provoked their queen, Penta, she ordered him to be put to death. The murder of the Roman embassador led to a long and bloody war. The Istrians, according to Livy, fought with great bravery; but their metropolis, Nexantrium—where women and children were destroyed by their own husbands and parents, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy—fell, and was replaced by Roman colonies.

Istria flourished in the time of the Emperor Augustus. The splendid ruins of Pola, its amphitheatre, the Temple of Augustus, the Porta Aurea, &c., still in a state of excellent preservation, serve to exhibit the ancient importance of this country. The Romans, agreeably to Pompeius Festus and Plutarch, first derived a knowledge of theatrical representations from the Istrians, and from this circumstance arises the name *histriones*, given to actors.

The province of Istria was administered by a Roman consul till 452, when Attila visited the country with his terrible devastation. In 500 the Ostrogoths became masters of Istria, in 535 the Lombards, and in 789 the Franks. The Slavians afterward overran the land, and the inhabitants could find an asylum only in the fortified cities and castles. Istria fell afterward under the Dukes of Bavaria, who bore the titles of Marchiones Istriæ. In 1208, Istria was ceded to the Patriarchs of Acquileia, and in 1308 to the Venetians, who retained it until their own fall in 1797.

TRIENT AND BRIXEN.

In 1803 the archbishoprics of Trient and Brixen were secu-

* Lucius Coruncanius.

larized and delivered to Austria. Before that time both archbishops were independent German princes, entitled to seats and votes in the German Diet.

SALZBURG.

In 1805, Austria became possessed of that part of the modern Austrian archduchy known as Salzburg.

It formed at one time a part of the bishopric of Salzburg, whose head was also primate of Germany. Salzburg was, by the treaty of Luneville, secularized, and in the peace of Pressburg in 1805, conferred on Austria, more in ridicule than by way of indemnification for the loss of the large and valuable territories which she had sustained.

Although the wars following the French Revolution at the commencement of the present century produced a great change in the hereditary possessions of the Austrian emperor, by decimating their extent, the Congress of Vienna, in 1814 and 1815, restored all which the ruthless hand of Napoleon had torn from the princes of Habsburg.

The simple declaration made by Napoleon to the German Diet, that he no longer recognized the empire, was sufficient to subvert the structure of a thousand years. In consequence, Austria voluntarily laid aside the imperial crown of Germany in 1806, having adopted instead the hereditary imperial crown of Austria on the 11th of August, 1804. From that time Austria formed a monarchy in the proper sense of the word.

BRESCIA, BERGAMO, CREMA, &c.

By the treaty of Vienna in 1815 the Emperor of Austria obtained, in full sovereignty for himself and his successors, the territories between the Ticino, the Po, and the Adige, which formerly belonged to the Venetian Republic, as Brescia, Bergamo, Crema, &c.

THE VALLEYS OF THE VELTLINE, OF BORMIO, AND OF CHIAVENNA.

By the same treaty of Vienna in 1815 fell to Austria the valleys of the Veltline, of Bormio, and of Chiavenna, which belonged, before the formation of the Cisalpine Republic and the Italian kingdom, to the bishopric of Chur.

REPUBLIC OF RAGUSA.

A further acquisition of territory made by the treaty of Vienna in 1815 was the Republic of Ragusa.

This republic dates its existence from the thirteenth century, and remained independent (though, since the year 1357, first under Hungarian and afterward under Venetian protection) till the year 1807, when it was conquered by France, and by the above-mentioned treaty delivered to Austria.

SABIONETTA.

By the treaty of Vienna, Austria finally received the small territory of Sabionetta (now in the delegation of Mantua), which belonged previously to the Duchy of Guastalla, and was separated from it to arrange the boundaries of Austria more advantageously.

PRESENT DIVISIONS OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE, AND THEIR CHARACTER AND ADMINISTRATION.

Out of these many portions, acquired up to 1815, at thirty different epochs, the following division, for their administration, was then adopted, and existed in force until 1848.

I. Bohemia: two thirds Slavi, the remainder Germans, Jews, and Gipseys, under one governor.

II. Moravia and Silesia: two thirds Slavi, the remainder Germans and Jews, under one governor.

III. Galicia and Lodomeria: four fifths Slavi, the remainder Wallachians, Magyars, Germans, and Jews, under one governor.

IV. Austria, below the Enns River: Germans, under one governor.

V. Austria, above the Enns: Germans, under one governor.

VI. Tyrol: five eighths Germans, the remainder Italians, under one governor.

VII. Styria: two thirds Germans, the remainder Slavi, under one governor.

VIII. Carniola and Carinthia: two thirds Slavi, the remainder Germans, under one governor.

IX. The province of Trieste: one half Slavi, the remainder Italians and Germans, under one governor.

X. Dalmatia: five eighths Slavi, the remainder Italians, under one governor.

XI. Lombardy: Italians, under one governor.

XII. Province of Venice: Italians, under one governor.

XIII. Hungary, Slavonia, and Croatia: two fifths Magyars, the remainder Slavi, Wallachians, Germans, Greeks, Jews, Gipseys, under the Palatine and the Ban.

XIV. Transylvania: one third Magyars, the remainder Saxons, Wallachians, Bulgarians, Gipseys, etc., under one governor.

XV. The military frontier along the boundaries of Turkey: three fourths Slavi, the remainder Wallachians, Magyars, Germans, under entirely military rule.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION—*Continued.*

FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE, FROM THE TREATY OF VIENNA IN 1815, TO THE VIENNA REVOLUTION IN MARCH, 1848.

WHEN Napoleon, in his victorious march in 1813, had completed the tour of Europe, and planted his triumphant standard in every great capital of the Continent, from the Tuileries to the Kremlin, the princes, who had every where fled at his approach, appealed to the fidelity as well as to the interest of their subjects, to "save their thrones from overthrow, and the national liberty from the destruction of a foreign despot."

In this war of "Liberation," as it was most ingeniously miscalled, all Europe was summoned to arms, and the call was answered by the people with an enthusiasm equaled only by the embarrassment of their sovereigns.

"Every one," says a German author, "that could bear arms, seized them; the plow and work-shops were abandoned, the lecture-rooms and counting-houses were deserted; even young females, dissembling their sex, hastened in arms to the ranks of the combatants, while matrons, undismayed at contagion

or death, nursed the sick and the wounded." But the history of the time is nowhere more correctly described than in the following proclamation of the King of Prussia.

"When, in time of danger, I called my people to arms, to combat for the *freedom and independence of the country*, the whole mass of the youth, glowing with emulation, thronged around the standards, to bear with joyful self-denial unusual hardships, and resolved to brave death itself. Then the best strength of the people intrepidly joined the ranks of my brave soldiers, and my generals led with me into battle a host of heroes, who have shown themselves worthy of the name of their fathers, and heirs of their glory. Thus we and our allies, attended by victory, conquered the capital of our enemy. Our banners waved in Paris. Napoleon abdicated his authority. *Liberty was restored to Germany*, security to thrones, and to the world the hope of a durable peace."

Thus the foreign despotic power was broken, and the duty of organizing German liberty devolved upon the Congress of Vienna.

The enemy once subdued, the people, credulous as brave, waited in confident reliance on the promises of the monarchs. From Vienna, where the latter were assembled or represented, was expected the realization of those laws and institutions which were to repay all sacrifices, meet all wishes, and close the bloody arena so long occupied by contests for personal aggrandizements.

However strange it may appear, it is undoubtedly true that, on the first assembling of this Congress, the spirit of the allied powers was sincerely liberal. The efforts of the people, stimulated by the promises of their rulers, had produced the expulsion of the French armies, and it was apparently not more in acknowledgment of the debt they owed them, than for the promotion of their own honest designs, that the monarchs in their turn felt disposed to make some concessions to the people.

Austria, in the person of the President of the Congress, declared that "the subjects of every German state under the ancient empire possessed rights against their sovereign which had of late been disregarded, but that such disregard must be rendered impossible for the future." Prussia deliberately pro-



posed a scheme of almost the same Constitution, which thirty-two years after was revived by the present king. Russia was naturally called upon for very little exertion as regarded her unawakened provinces; but her propositions in behalf of Poland, and which were in part actually realized, were so remarkably liberal as to excite serious apprehensions in her western neighbors. While Hanover insisted upon the declaration as the fundamental law of the alliance, that Constitutional Estates should be created wherever they did not already exist; and all three of these powers, viz., Austria, Prussia, and Hanover, placed on record a note (November 16, 1814), in which was maintained the necessity of introducing universal Constitutional Estates,* and giving to them a voice in questions of "taxation, public expenditure, the redress of public grievances, and general legislation."

The plan for a German Confederation originally proposed by Prince Metternich declared that its object should be the maintenance of the internal and external security of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the confederated states, "as well as that of the rights of each class of the nation." These last words were especially objected to on the part of the King of Wurtemberg, at that time engaged in a dispute with his subjects respecting their constitutional rights, in which he was joined by the King of Bavaria.†

The conferences on this point had been broken off in November, 1814, when the King of Wurtemberg abruptly quitted Vienna. Scarcely had they been resumed in 1815, when tidings of the return of Napoleon from Elba arrived, and all other questions became of secondary importance to the aim of uniting entire Germany in arms against the usurper, who was declared, by a special act of that body, "the enemy of nations, and to have forfeited the protection of the laws." Wurtemberg, on this occasion, was absent. Bavaria, however, was represented, and she contested, from the same point of view as Wurtemberg, the thirteenth Article of that Confederation, which guaranteed a representative Constitution to each of the states; while, on the opposite side, Stein and his friends were

* Diets or Parliaments. † Wheaton, 473.

anxious to pledge the Confederation to the establishment of a popular representation in each state.

A medium course was at last adopted, after a discussion of four weeks, chiefly through the influence of Austria, and the result was the concise expression of the thirteenth Article, viz., "a representative Constitution, to be adopted in all the federative states," which, like the Delphic oracle, committed its authors to no very definite result, and of which the true meaning has been to this day a subject of dispute.*

The occurrence of the Hundred Days must ever be a subject of deep regret to Germany, by reason of its having precipitated the settlement of this and other important internal questions.† All hopes of the union of Germany were just on the point of being abandoned, when a higher destiny, confirming the tardy resolutions of the princes by an appeal to their fears, revived them, and, owing to a concurrence of other favorable circumstances, the act of the German Confederation was at length brought to a successful issue.

The wars of the French emperor had not only destroyed the former metes and bounds of empires, but left scarcely a state in Europe whose territorial relations were not in an embarrassed condition.

Upon the reassembling of the Congress in the following year, it was the territorial distribution and international organization between the states, and not the political rights or social condition of the people, that now exclusively occupied the attention of the sovereigns. Only the limitation of France to its ancient boundaries by the treaties of Paris, in consequence of which so many important countries on that side of the Rhine and the Alps were placed at the disposal of the allies, could render adjustment or restoration possible. But a complete restoration could not, it was thought, be effected without greater injustice than had been previously inflicted.

As to territorial arrangements, the Congress took little heed of nationality, of race, of natural sentiments, of historical traditions, or of popular predilections. The number of inhabitants and square miles, and the amount of revenues, were the

* Quarterly Review, March, 1849.

† For the Act of Confederation, see Heeren.

general, and, in many instances, the only criterion of adjustment. They treated states and principalities as so many unconscious and lifeless parts of a huge machine. They marshaled provinces and people like squadrons and battalions in a line of battle, calculated by the individual decisions of a commander. They did even more. They carried their distributive powers beyond any pretended compulsion of necessity, and partitioned populations to satisfy ministerial crotchets or royal greed. There was a formal *partage d'ames*. Claims to so many millions of souls, founded on previous bargains, presumptions, or services, were put in and recognized, at the cost of all national feelings, and in councils over which no requisite geographical or historical knowledge is said to have presided.*

Although this repartition of territory by the Congress was a measure of great importance, it was quite as remarkable when it is considered that the professed object for which this body assembled was the *peace* of Europe; and yet that, in their efforts to accomplish this, they exhibited, by their *partage d'ames*, the utmost contempt both for personal rights and national feeling.

It is, indeed, wonderful that it should never have occurred to them that satisfaction among the people, and protection of their just rights, was more essential to the tranquillity of Europe than the gratification of the ambitious lusts of monarchs; and that a peace violated in this manner would probably give rise to a war, not merely between the states of Germany, but a war of opinion that might extend its influence beyond the country, and even beyond the age in which it originated.

As soon as the new formation of states had been effected, the great powers of Austria and Prussia, notwithstanding the liberality at first exhibited, retained for their own dominions the system of absolutism, a form of government totally unsuited to the age; and the influence of that system, pursued with blind obstinacy, exercised upon the German confederated Diet, paralyzed all the efforts of the other princes, who had made partial concessions to the times by adopting the consti-

* Edinburgh Review, Oct., 1848.

tutional system, the necessity of which the wants of the age amply demonstrated.* It is to this period and to these transactions that we must look for the germs of those revolutionary ideas by which all governments are at this time threatened.† The people had made, with great enthusiasm, the dearest sacrifices, and they were entitled to expect a reward for them. This they confidently anticipated in obtaining those institutions by which a just degree of liberty should be assured them, based on the natural rights of humanity; in short, by the possession and enjoyment of a constitutional monarchy. This just as well as reasonable demand, sustained by a well-founded claim, was not regarded. The Vienna Congress, by which Europe was reorganized, zealously protected the rights of the dynasties; but the rights of the people were almost totally neglected. The appeals of the latter against such a condition of things, being unheeded, could not but produce reaction. The obstinate course of the rulers, sustained by no legal grounds, but directed solely by their own arbitrary will, soon created a bitterness in the hearts of the people, which became more injurious and demoralizing in proportion as the attempt was made to repress it. A deep and painful breach had taken place in the confidence between the people and their princes. Threatening symptoms of the existence of that bitter hostility soon manifested themselves. In the hour of need, as it was sufficiently proved, the yoke of the foreign oppressor, becoming more and more insupportable, could not be thrown off except by a general and armed rising of the people; no means, therefore, were spared to accomplish this result, and to awaken the German people to a consciousness of their power. It was by eloquent appeals, by watch-words,‡ songs, and heroic deeds, that the people of Germany had been inspired with an ardent desire for liberty. Impressed with this hope, they rushed into the contest and achieved the victory; but it was without fruits for them.

* Constitutions were formed in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hanover, Baden, Grand Duchy of Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, Mecklenberg, Saxe-Weimar, &c. Amer. Encyc., art. "Constitutions," p. 473; Engl. Encyc., art. "Constitutions," p. 469 Heeren, 485.

† History of Vienna Revolution, Almanac, 1849. ‡ Ibid.

The system of absolutism, as created by the treaties of 1815, founded upon a basis alike adverse to national and liberal ideas, grew intolerable as the people became aware that their noblest feelings of patriotism had been fraudulently converted into instruments of their own thraldom. Dissatisfaction and excitement, therefore, increased among the people throughout Germany. They began to discover to what extent they had been deceived; instead of the restoration of a powerful empire, they were to accept the mere phantom of a Constitution; instead of the promised liberty, new fetters were forged, which, by diplomatic shrewdness, were concealed for a time under the Act of Confederation. The beautiful dreams of a German empire, with but one man at its head, and the revival of its ancient splendor, had been dissipated. Germany had delivered herself from the bonds of the powerful Corsican, only to put on the more disgraceful chains of a German Congress. It was natural that a feeling of shame should stir the German nation, and with it the desire to throw off the yoke, and to acquire those sacred rights and privileges to obtain which had cost the blood of thousands. On every side the people rose, and demanded the accomplishment of the thirteenth Article of the Confederation, "In all the states of the Confederation will be given a representative Constitution;" became louder and louder; the people knocked at the doors of the princes, and summoned them to fulfill their promises. To meet this tergiversation of the courts, all the modifications of *Carbonarism*, and its traditionary details, were now put into operation; and every state in Central Europe had its secret societies for the prosecution of its peculiar object.

This indignation was naturally strongest in the hearts of the students, from the baffled enthusiasm of youth. Secret associations were formed in the universities, and the first manifestation of that excitement occurred at the Wartzburg festivity, so well known.* The governments did not hesitate to employ coercive measures to suppress this spirit. It was, however, far too widely extended to be overcome by such means. Excited to fanaticism, these youthful demagogues did not scorn

* Occurred 18th October, 1817. See Menzel's Germany

any means, not even assassination, to effect a revolution, the object of which was the overthrow of all thrones, as they considered the wearers of the crowns the only obstacles in the way to the accomplishment of the end at which they aimed, viz., German freedom accordant with their ideas. By one of these misled youths, Kotzebue fell, and this assassination—permitted, no doubt—suggests to what extremes this party was ready to go. The united measures of the German governments succeeded, however, at that time, in preventing any further outbreak; but the revolutionary spirit was only suppressed, not extinguished.

It was distinctly known that not Germany alone had become the seat of revolutionary ideas and plans, but that, since the fall of Napoleon, a revolutionary propaganda had been formed, the seat of which was involved in impenetrable obscurity, undiscovered by the whole police of the European powers; and that this association was indefatigable, and furnished with powerful means to effect the overthrow of all thrones, and to transform the countries of Europe into republican states.*

These movements upon the part of the people very naturally led to movements on the part of the monarchs; and the common danger, with which they were all equally threatened, was not long in producing a union among the crowned heads. It is a remarkable fact which the history of Congresses discloses, that never, previous to the year 1814, had monarchs

* These secret societies of students were aroused during the war of the liberation; their motives were at first strictly social and patriotic (they had the special approval of their sovereigns), but they afterward became political. They served as excellent auxiliaries in the war of liberation; but even at that time the enlightened statesmen of Germany could not but tremble at the power which had been evoked. They felt that the mind of Germany was making giant strides in advance of the body, and threatened, if it pursued its course without a check, to part company from it. With the conclusion of the war, the secret societies, instead of dissolving themselves or contracting their sphere of action, assumed a much wider development. It was attempted, accordingly, in 1816, to put them down by a royal edict. In the following year the fraternization of the Burschenschaft took place at Wartzburg, in Saxe-Weimar, when the students of Jena welcomed the students of twelve other universities, and an association of the Burschen of Germany was formed under an established directory.[1] The next year saw the union still more effectively organized, with its leaders and its banners, the flag of the ancient empire, black, red, and gold.

[1] Quarterly Review, March, 1849.

agreed so well and acted so much in concert, because, since that date, they have felt the necessity of making common cause against liberty. Never before were so many Congresses held in the same space of time; the constant instances of insubordination required frequent consultation; and the uneasy state of the monarchs at home made it particularly desirable for them to meet in Congresses abroad.* The first Congress of the sovereigns, having for its object the suppression of all liberal sentiments, and riveting more closely the chains of the people, was that of

AIX LA CHAPELLE.

At this Congress, which met on the 13th of November, 1818, no measures were openly concerted for suppressing the liberal movements; yet the apprehensions excited, especially in Germany, by these popular manifestations, had been chiefly influential in provoking the conference; and it was there determined to retract or suspend those concessions of constitutional privileges which had been originally promised.

CONGRESS OF CARLSBAD.

The next Congress of the crowned heads which followed was that held at Carlsbad, in Bohemia, and commenced its sittings on the 29th of September, 1819; the objects and conclusions of which can not be better explained than they are in the address presented to them, on assembling, by Prince Metternich, the presiding officer of that body.

"The imperial royal presiding embassador has received from his exalted court the most high order to make to the federal Diet the following communication:

"His imperial majesty believes that he expresses, the same time with his own, the desire of all the members of the confederacy, on summoning the confederated Diet, to direct, before its adjournment, its whole attention to the troublesome movements and fermentation of the spirits throughout a great portion of Germany; to examine studiously the causes of the serious appearances which have disclosed themselves for the

* Americana Encyclopedia.

last few years, becoming daily more perceptible, but at last manifesting itself in undisguisable symptoms, by pamphlets preaching insurrection, by widely-extended unlawful unions, and even by repeated crimes; and to take into consideration all means by which order and peace, respect for the laws, confidence in the governments, general satisfaction, the undisturbed enjoyments of all those benefits which will be conferred on the German nation under the protection of peace, may, by the hands of the princes, be secured and strengthened for the future. The sources of this evil (to stop the further advance of which must be, at present, the most sacred duty of all German governments) are to be found partly in the present condition of affairs, upon which no government is enabled to exert an influence direct or momentary, and partly they are connected with certain indigenous errors and abuses, and which can only be corrected by a happy agreement and well-considered measures.

"Among those points which require the earliest and most careful consideration, the following are predominant:

"1st. The uncertainty, and consequently the false interpretation as to the sense and meaning of the thirteenth Article of the Act of Confederation.

"2d. Incorrect ideas as to the rights of the confederated Diet, and the insufficiency of the means to exercise those rights.

"3d. The faults of the schools and the system of instruction.

"4th. The abuse of the press, and particularly mischief carried on by newspapers and pamphlets."

In conclusion, the prince says, "It is the most ardent desire of his majesty that the confederated Diet may occupy itself without delay in these important matters, and the presiding embassador is therefore ordered to communicate suitable projects for conclusion upon these four points, and upon the nomination of a Central Commission, the efficacy of which will be more detailed in the course of these deliberations."*

The results of this Congress were that laws were passed for

* The eighteenth Article of Confederation guarantees liberty of the press. Wheaton, 454.

the establishment of a stricter police in the universities, which since that time have been brought into closer contact with the governments, and officers appointed to watch over the conduct of the students. Periodical works, and such as contain less than twenty sheets, were put for five years under a severe censorship; and the Diet was to have the right to suppress any books which disturbed the peace or attacked the dignity of any member of the Confederation, or tended so to do. For the detection and prosecution of secret political societies throughout Germany, and the checking of demagogic tendencies, a central police was commissioned and organized.*

SECOND CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1820.†

The second Congress of Vienna immediately followed, May 15th, 1820, which produced the final act of the Confederation, a heterogeneous composition, the design of which was to annul by interpretation the spirit, while it kept within the letter of the act of 1815. No one of its articles in favor of popular rights had ever been enforced, but all those against them had been executed ostentatiously, and were now paraded anew in the protocol before the house.

From this it was learned that the Diet was offended at the journals and pamphlets which inundated the country, and with the abuse of liberty of speech in the legislative chambers. It invoked the eighteenth Article of the Federal Act of 1815, which declared that uniform laws should be established to secure liberty of the press, and, at the same time, stated that, until all the governments should concur in establishing such laws, the decree of Carlsbad (September 20th, 1819), abolishing the liberty of the press, should continue to be rigorously executed throughout the Confederation. If after this the Diet should be enabled to sustain itself, it was well; "but if not, Austria and Prussia would, at the invitation of one of the confederated states, employ every means at their disposal for the maintenance and execution of the Federal Constitution, its important execution," etc.‡ The important point to be observed is the attitude gradually assumed by the allied powers, and its

* Americana Encyclopedia.

† Congress of Vienna, 1820; see Wheaton, 455. ‡ Wheaton, 476

remarkable influence upon the public policy of Europe. The contracting parties represented themselves as charged with the general superintendence of tranquillity, and characterized their combination against the "revolutionary" spirit of Europe as the natural continuation of that alliance, which, by overwhelming the power of Napoleon, had restored the peace of the world. The result was a perpetual league of crowned heads, which, if originally directed against license, was soon made available against liberty. The principle now promulgated was this—that if any disturbance of the "tranquillity" constituted and prescribed by the dispensing powers should occur at any place in Europe, the entire force of the alliance should be immediately employed to suppress it. In this manner the political system as usually organized between sovereign and independent states, was to be superseded by a kind of confederation, which would have transformed the governments of Europe into a Diet, of which Austria or Russia would have seized the presidency. Forms of government were put in the same category with configurations of frontiers, and the mutual guarantee was extended from integrity of territory to integrity of absolutism. Intervention upon these principles, in the internal affairs of an independent state, was proclaimed a duty incumbent upon the allied governors of the world; and so strict was the union thus contracted, and so hearty the concurrence of purpose, that it was hoped wars and tumults would never again be found afflicting nations or dethroning kings.*

By this Congress, the extent of the powers conferred on the Diet by the Federal Act of 1815, was more fully defined by an additional act (composed of one hundred articles), signed May 15th, 1820, and ratified by the Diet at Frankfort on the 8th of June of the same year.

CONGRESS OF TROPPAU.

In Germany the insurrectionary spirit took the disgraceful form of assassination; in the Italian and Spanish peninsulas the more dangerous guise of military revolts. In this Congress, which took place from October to December, 1820, the

* Edinburgh Review, October, 1848.

assembled monarchs, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia announced the principle of *armed intervention*. The revolutions of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, more especially, gave occasion to this Congress. The object of the deliberations was also to effect a compact between the great powers, that they would not acknowledge any Constitution which should deviate from the legitimate monarchical standard. England and France endeavored to establish the system of neutrality. Great Britain expressed her unwillingness to take part in any measures of violence against Naples; and France would join the league only upon certain conditions, which were, however, refused by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, as these powers were resolved to use force to put down the insurrectionary spirit. It was further resolved, at Troppau, that in case a war should actually break out with Naples, Austria should carry it on alone; while Russia and Prussia pledged themselves to keep watch on the rest of Europe, and guaranteed the security of the Austrian states.

CONGRESS OF LAYBACH.

The Congress of Laybach was held from the 26th of January, 1821, to May of the same year. This assembly forms a conspicuous epoch in the history of European politics, as it was here that the right of *armed intervention*, agreed upon at Troppau, was *regularly proclaimed and diplomatically admitted into the international code* of the European continental powers. The consequences of this Congress, from whence the allied powers issued a proclamation against Naples, were the occupation of Naples, Sicily, and Piedmont by Austrian armies; the abolition of the Spanish Constitution in these countries, and the restoration of the old order of things. Such armed interventions arose from the fellow-feeling of sovereigns, who claimed the right of assisting each other against their subjects, and directly to contravene the right of independent development which belongs to the character of a nation.

It was a natural consequence of the Holy Alliance, and the Congresses of rulers or their representatives assembled, only, to prop the pillars of despotism. Such a step not only contravened the rights of other neutral nations, but was in direct vi-

olation of the Second Article of the German Confederation, as established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which guarantees "the independence and inviolability of each of the German states." It is the instrument always used to suppress liberty, and of which we have recently had a striking illustration in the inhuman intervention of Russia in aid of Austria against Hungary, and the Republic of France to crush the liberties and extinguish the Republic of Rome, which presented a more striking example of order and greater prospect of stability than France itself.

CONGRESS OF VERONA.

The two emperors had determined, at Laybach, to hold a new Congress, in 1822, at Florence. Verona was afterward substituted for Florence, and a Congress was held there, from October to December, 1822, on account of Spain and Portugal, and the political state of Greece. The war of France against Spain, in 1823, was a consequence of this Congress, as the powers permitted France to re-establish the ancient monarchy in Spain by force of arms, and promised assistance, if it should be necessary, to put down the Cortes and suppress the Constitution of that country. Measures were also here taken for the suppression of secret societies.

What were the circumstances which at this time strengthened the power of absolute monarchy? The first, undoubtedly, was the intimate union formed among the monarchs for mutual support, the discovery they had made that it was better for them to fight together against the liberties of their people, than to fight with each other for the mere enlargement of their dominions. The detestable conspiracy into which they had entered, under the blasphemous name of the *Holy Alliance*, was the great means of sustaining more tyrannical measures, upon which each now thought he might safely proceed to administer his government; and, so long as they look upon increase of personal power and security in practical tyranny as of more value than mere increase of territory or of foreign influence, so long it is not impossible that this unhallowed confederacy may continue. Another great source of the strength and immediate safety of these govern-

ments was the general diffusion of improvements in the art of war, and the maintenance and equipment of armies, by means of which a much smaller force was capable of keeping in awe a larger population, and, at the same time, a limited revenue enabled to maintain more numerous forces. These were the immediate and occasional causes of the confidence and apparent security with which arbitrary power has since been proclaimed as the only legitimate spring of European government.*

But there was another and a more ominous cause, which has only begun to operate of late years, to exercise influence in support of the same system, and this was the improved knowledge and policy of absolute governments themselves, and their gradual correction of many of the abuses which did not tend to maintain their despotism.

Tyrannical governments had before been singularly ignorant and prejudiced, and more than one half of the abuses which made them odious in the eyes of their subjects, had no immediate connection with political rights or institutions, and might have been safely redressed without at all improving the Constitution, or increasing the political consequence of their subjects.

Their great danger was the superior intelligence of the people, with whom the policy of their rulers had usually been a subject of contempt as well as of resentment, and who, in their plans of reform or resistance, had uniformly possessed a most mortifying advantage in point of contrivance, combination, address, and prudence. A new era, however, began as to all these particulars; the eyes of the rulers were at last opened to their own nakedness and weakness, and great efforts were made, and are still making to secure to the cause of tyranny some part of those advantages which the spread of intelligence and general increase of ability had conferred on all other institutions.* They employed better casuists and more ingenious sophists to defend their proceedings; they sought spies of more activity and intelligence, and agents of corruption more crafty and acute, than they had previously thought it necessary to retain

* Edinburgh Review, 1824. † Idem.

in their service. But, above all, they endeavored to rectify those gross errors in their internal administration which had been a source at once of weakness and discontent, and by the correction of which they did infallibly extend and multiply their resources, while they cut off one fruitful spring of disaffection. They continued to seek, therefore, not only to improve the economical part of their government, and to amend the laws and usages by which the wealth and industry of the people were affected, but endeavored to conciliate their goodwill, by mitigating all those grievances from which they themselves derived no advantage, and which might be redressed without at all advancing the people in their *pretensions to the character of freemen.*

They constructed roads and canals, encouraged agriculture and manufactures, and reformed the laws of trade, abolished local and subordinate oppressions, endowed seminaries of education, inculcated a reverence for religion, and patronized academies of arts; and all this good they did not hesitate to perform at the instigation of that more enlightened, but more determined hostility to popular rights,* by which they have ever been professedly actuated, and with a view merely to these two plain consequences. In the first place, that, by increasing the wealth and population of their subjects, they might be enabled to draw from them larger taxes and supplies, and to recruit greater armies to uphold their tyrannical pretensions; and in the second place, that, by keeping the body of the people, in other respects, in a comfortable condition, they might have a better opportunity of reconciling them to the privations of political rights, and not be annoyed by the discontents which arise from distress, and be forced to combat, at the same time, those which arise from injustice.†

During this period and the following years, the attention of the allied powers was sufficiently occupied in directing the movements during the revolutionary outbreaks in Spain, Naples, and Sicily, occasioned by the struggles of those countries against the absolutism which, under the pretense of a constitutional system, was enforced among them.

* Edinburgh Review. † Ibid.

In the mean time, the dissatisfaction of the people of the German states continued to increase, not only on account of the total disregard by the sovereigns of all their rights, but from the obnoxious measures which the Diet of Frankfort, from time to time, thought proper to adopt. In the protocol of that assembly, the final act of 1820 was made responsible for all these new enactments of the Diet. But the article first cited for this purpose was unfortunate. It declared that "the sovereign can not be bound to admit the co-operation of the Estates, except in the exercise of rights especially determined." But in many states the co-operation of the Diet in granting and appropriating taxes was already specially determined, and, in order to escape from the effect of this provision, it was stated that the internal constitution of the confederated states could not be so construed as to prejudice the objects of the Confederation, and especially so as to defeat the supplies of money which each state was bound to contribute for the common defense. The protocol also repeated the provision of the final act of 1820, that, if any state, in case of internal troubles, was prevented from applying for the assistance of the Confederation, the Diet was bound, though not called on, to interfere; so that the Diet, or, rather, Prussia and Austria, were left the sole judges of the necessity of such interference; and the protocol finally concluded with a sweeping clause, that the Diet should be, in all cases of doubt, the ultimate judges of the extent of their own powers, which thus completed the annihilation of the chartered liberties of Germany.

The fermentation continued to increase the spirit of fellowship created in the wars of the Revolution, and which resulted in the liberation of Germany from foreign oppression, imparted to them the ideas of unity and nationality, which have ever since distinguished them, and which, thirty years after, they attempted to embody in some palpable form. Such of the constitutions as, agreeably to the thirteenth Article of the Confederation, had been bestowed, were, by the repressive measures on the part of the separate powers, or of the Frankfort Diet, either completely withheld, or rendered, by those measures, totally void, and inadequate for the satisfaction of the people. In 1827 the Burschenschaft was revived, with a more definite

object, and which was the unity and freedom of Germany, at all hazards.

From this period until the events of July, 1830, in France, which again constituted a new era for Germany, years glided on in profound peace; but the deep feeling of popular indignation was working its silent and sullen way. No period of the world's annals contains such an instance as this of rulers owing so much to those they governed, yet refusing, with perfidious breach of faith, the payment of their debt of gratitude, and persecuting those who had fought and bled in their service, for making use of the very words and phrases which those same princes had so profusely lavished when entreating the assistance of the people. Every one who raised the voice of patriotism was put under the ban; imprisonment, confiscation, and exile were the lot of all who dared to whisper that the bloody battles which had been fought and won had any objects beyond the re-establishment of absolute power and aristocratic prerogative.

As an act in the general movement of the people, and of that excitement in the public mind which prevailed every where, the Revolution of July, 1830, then occurred. He who, upon the fall of Napoleon, proclaimed to the people of France "the triumph of liberty, the reign of the laws," was found violating (with his unpopular ministry) the charter which he had sworn to support, and by the people hurled from power, and Louis Philippe of Orleans called to the throne. By the election of the king, the calculations of the Republican party were disappointed for a moment, yet the throne of a popular king, surrounded by such democratic forms, was certainly an advance in the condition of things, and the destiny of the people seemed already ameliorated. The interval between the original pacification and the late convulsions of Europe is divided into two nearly equal portions by the French Revolution of 1830, which conveniently separates one period from another, and constitutes an important epoch in the history of human rights. Previous to that year, the policy of the allied powers, described above, had almost undisputed sway, and the incidents of European history, during the fifteen years which intervened, were mainly confined to such manifestations of its force as were supplied

by the successive suppression of liberal movements in Germany, as well as in Naples, Piedmont, Portugal, and Spain. But the Revolution of July gave a new aspect to affairs. Not only was France, a leading power, transformed into a real constitutional* monarchy, and transferred in the balance of political principles from the side of the Allies of Laybach and Verona to the side of Great Britain and its reformed Parliament, but the effect of this metamorphosis was most sensibly felt in the several revolutions which followed then, as now, in the train of Parisian catastrophies.†

The insurrections in Belgium and Poland were the immediate, if not the legitimate successors of the Paris Revolution. The first ended with the separation or overthrow of the kingdom of the Netherlands, the handiwork of the Congress of 1815, and the entire independence of Belgium; the second with the complete defeat of the Poles by the Russians under Paskiewitch. In Italy, too, revolution had raised its head, but was again overpowered by an Austrian army entering the states of the Church. In Germany, also, matters did not remain untroubled: the people of Brunswick drove away its Duke Charles. The Hessians forced their sovereign to grant a Constitution. The desire of the people was also acceded to, and the king then granted a Constitution, on the 4th of September, 1831. In several small duchies the example was followed, but every where prevailed the utmost dissatisfaction.‡ This movement

* Edinburgh Review, October, 1848. † Ibid.

‡ The following is a list of the sovereigns who complied with the letter of their promise, by granting Constitutions to their subjects:

Sovereigns.	Date of Constitutions.
King of Bavaria	May 26, 1828.
King of Wurtemberg	September 25, 1819.
King of Hanover	December 7, 1819.
King of Saxony	March 1, 1831.
Grand Duke of Baden	August 28, 1828.
Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt	December 17, 1820.
Elector of Hesse	January 1, 1831.
Grand Duke of Luxemburg	August 24, 1815.
Duke of Brunswick	April 2, 1820.
Duke of Nassau	September 2, 1814.
Duke of Saxe-Weimar	May 1, 1816.
Duke of Saxe-Meiningen Hilburghausen	August 23, 1829.
Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha	August 8, 1821.

was not confined to a blind and fanatical party, but prudent, and well-disposed, and high-minded men (like Rottech and Welcher) declared themselves openly and decisively in favor of the imperious necessity that concessions should be made to the claims of an advanced age, to the full exercise of constitutional institutions, that a legal and reasonable* liberty should be granted upon a reconciliation between prince and people, and upon the re-establishment of reciprocal confidence between them.†

The effects of the French Revolution of 1830, in its reaction upon the public mind throughout Europe, manifested themselves in Germany in popular commotions, which were followed by various reforms in the local constitutions of several states, such as Saxony, Electoral Hesse, and Hanover. In the states of Germany which had already obtained, by

Duke of Swarzburg Rudolstadt January 8, 1816.
Prince of Lechtenstein November 9, 1818.
Prince of Waldeck April 15, 1816.

The following is a list of those who violated their pledge, both in its letter and spirit, by refusing Constitutions:

Emperor of Austria.
King of Prussia.
Grand Duke of Mecklenberg Schwerin.
Grand Duke of Mecklenberg Strelitz.
Grand Duke of Oldenberg.
Duke of Holstein.
Duke of Saxe-Altenberg.
Duke of Anhalt Dessau.
Duke of Anhalt Bernberg.
Duke of Anhalt Coethen.
Prince of Hohenzollern Heckingen.
Prince of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen.
Prince of Reuss, Senior Branch.
Prince of Reuss, Junior Branch.
Prince of Lippe, } who offered the mockery of a Constitution,
Prince of Lippe Schaumberg, } which the people rejected.
Prince of Swarzenberg Sonderhausen.
Landgrave of Hesse Hamberg.

* German Almanac.

† On the 27th of May, 1832, the Hambacher festival took place, the confused effusion of all vague ideas of German demagogism, and this unfortunate meeting gave a pretext to the Diet of the Confederation, a month after, to decree a still stricter repression of constitutional liberty, and which had been previously determined on.[1]

[1] German Almanac.

the voluntary concessions of their sovereigns, representative constitutions more or less corresponding to the wants and wishes of the people, the legislative chambers assumed an attitude and a tone of discussion which had been unknown since the repressive measures adopted under the additional powers given to the Diet by the final Act of the Confederation in 1820.* The liberty of the press, which was still tolerated, to a certain extent, in some of the minor states, was freely used to arraign the German governments before the tribunal of public opinion, to demand further concessions in favor of popular rights—in some instances to excite popular commotions. The Diet at first contented itself with exercising its acknowledged powers, by specific measures for suppressing the publication of certain offensive newspapers. But these measures proving insufficient, in the opinion of the Austrian and Prussian cabinets, to check the rapid progress of the revolutionary spirit, a decree was adopted by the Diet on the 28th of June, 1832, on the motion of Austria, seconded by Prussia, by which very important modifications were introduced into the fundamental laws of the Confederation established in 1815 and 1820.†

The motives for adopting the decree were stated by the presiding officer, and delegate from Austria, Count Münch Bellinghausen; and after reading a communication to the same effect, to the Diet of the Confederation, from the Emperor of Austria, the propositions contained therein were converted into a law of the Confederation by an act of the Diet, dated the 28th of June, 1832.‡

Besides this resolution of the Frankfort Diet of 1832, "a similar object (says Binder, the biographer of Metternich), together with the completion and clearer explanation of some points of the Treaty of Federation, occupied the great Congress of ministers assembled, at the desire of Prince Metternich, at Vienna, from the 13th of January to the 13th of June, 1834, some of whose resolutions have been published by the Diet."

The purport of these resolutions, which so palpably infringed that clause of the treaty of Vienna of 1815, which guaranteed internal independence to every state of Germany, was the in-

* Wheaton, p. 460. † Ibid., 460–461. ‡ See Appendix, No. 1.

stitution of a Board of Control or Arbitration, named by the territorial sovereigns of Germany, which, as the highest court of appeal, were to watch over the proceedings of the States-General or Assemblies, and to decide all disputes which might arise between them and their respective governments. The sittings of the assemblies or chambers in the different states were ordered to be held with closed doors, and the official publication of their proceedings, which had been adopted voluntarily by several, among others by Hanover, was prohibited. Other points related to restrictions of the press, regulations at the universities, and systems of education.

The people, through their respective assemblies, protested against that decree, but, notwithstanding, it was enforced. The last warning voice passed unheeded by the rulers. It really seemed as if they intended to suppress such an intellectual movement by brute force. How had they mistaken the time! In the year 1815,* and even in the year 1830, it would have been an easy task to have effected a reconciliation by yielding to the public desires, which, until that time, had always been respectfully proposed to the crown. The moderate party then formed an immense majority of the German people. With gratitude and joy, concessions would have been received at that time, which would not have limited the rights of the crown, but only its abuses. Faithfully the grateful people would have rallied around the throne, and their breasts would have proved the safest buckler against the criminal designs of the revolutionary propagandism. By the course adopted, the people were exposed to demoralization, which afterward brought forth its dreadful fruits. The disheartening conviction now took root, that it was no longer possible to expect a settlement in a legal way, and that only by force or revolution could the resistance be overcome which blind or culpable ministers opposed to the wishes of the people.

The revolutionary propaganda was not idle in taking advantage of this excited state of the public mind, and in applying the match.†

Moral fidelity and obedience to law became, among a great

* Coxe's House of Austria. † German Almanac.

part of the German people, undermined by systematic and continued suggestions.

Increased poverty and proletarianism, strangers of all principles and manners, furnished numerous elements to the criminal (demagogical) stratagems of the revolutionary party, and the communistic principles and ideas infused a quantity of poison into the body of the people.

From this time the tendencies of German liberalism took another direction and wider scope. The exclusively German and purely national ideas of 1812 to 1815, yielded to a perception that the condition of the continent indicated that the constitutional bond must be an universal one to insure success, and this idea gave rise to the party commonly called Young Germany. Many sections of the old exclusive national party, as it was called, could not forget their accustomed hue-and-cry against France; while Young Germany contended that, now she had recovered her constitutional liberty, she deserved to be considered as a sister nation. Young Germany gained many adherents by the truth of its suggestions; and as the antipathy to France subsided, public opinion was more and more employed in scrutinizing domestic grievances, and the melancholy fate of Poland indicated the dangers that awaited their own country.*

The exertions of the advanced liberal party were not only directed against that rotten body, the Frankfort Diet, but against the whole compact of the treaties of 1815, by virtue of which Russia and Austria held Poland and Italy chained, like Prometheus, to the rock of absolutism, and the impassioned strictures which had hitherto been directed against France, were now applied to St. Petersburg and Vienna.

Thus the idea of German unity assumed a more general and efficient character, being associated with the literature of Italy and Poland; and the people looked to England for the rescue of the former, and of the latter to France. The policy of Louis Philippe soon disenchanted the friends of liberty, as it became apparent that he preferred making concessions to his brother sovereigns, to forming such an alliance with England

* Westminster Review.

as might have compelled them to pursue a constitutional course. Meanwhile, the general and ardent thirst for constitutional liberty, far from being checked by disappointment, followed the general law of natural desires, and was increased by the obstacles which opposed it. The German sovereigns acknowledged the mutual-responsibility principles of Young Germany, by taking care that their own subjects should always pay for the folly of their trans-Rhenish neighbors. Every *émeute* in Paris was followed by wholesale imprisonments in Berlin and Vienna; and every attempt on the life of Louis Philippe formed an excuse for fresh measures of coercion at home; and, after the subjugation of Poland, the *triad* of the Holy Alliance—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—might be seen walking hand in hand, and dragging their subjects through the old dreary by-ways of absolutism and treachery.

These stringent measures on the part of the sovereigns were attended with no popular outbreak, not because absolutism had become more palatable, or the feeling of the necessity of radical reform less vehement, but from the fact that a belief seemed now to have taken possession of all minds that a great change was at hand, and could not possibly be long deferred. This change was expected to take place at the deaths of Louis Philippe and Metternich,* who were regarded as the pillars of the existing system. The people looked to these events like a spendthrift heir, who expects, with Christian patience happily tempered with certainty, the decease of a rich but indifferent relative. Metternich seemed to share the general belief, but hoped that he should be allowed to enjoy his glory for the term of his natural life; he bespoke peace and quiet for himself, but bequeathed a deluge to his successors.

The events of 1848 were foreseen, nay expected, and yet they took the world by surprise. No party was sufficiently prepared either for attack or defense. Governments, secure in stupid blindness, actively accelerated the convulsion they had so long been anxious to avert, while the people had not the

* The four sponsors of the peace of Europe, as was thought a few years since, were Louis Philippe, Prince Metternich, Mehemet Ali, and the Duke of Wellington. Two are now deceased, one driven from power, and the other perhaps too advanced in age for efficient service.

slightest idea of a sanguinary revolution. They thought that the two obnoxious men were growing old, and would enjoy their last days in peace; and that, when they disappeared from the stage, constitutional liberty would achieve a bloodless triumph. Such an expectation was far less unpractical than might seem, for as all parties were agreed upon the main principle of constitutional liberty, all other questions promised an easy solution, as soon as the chief abettor of division, the great apostle of *divide et impera*, should be gathered to his fathers. The question was simply one of time. The death of Louis Philippe or of Metternich was variously assigned as the moment beyond which a general outbreak could not be deferred. Events have been somewhat precipitated, but the outbreak was inevitable, as another will be, if grievances are merely compromised for the moment, and no provisions made to give security to the political fabric of Europe.

FOREIGN POLICY OF AUSTRIA.

A brief reference to the foreign policy, as well as the internal administration of the empire, will not fail to indicate that the causes for popular dissatisfaction existed, in a still more striking degree than in other parts of Germany, within the empire of Austria, and that there, so far at least as oppression and discontent are considered, the people were ready for the events of 1848.

The foreign policy of Austria since 1815 is so intimately blended with, and, in fact, inseparable from, the character of her great statesman, that the biography of the one naturally embraces the history of the other. Prince Metternich has long held, by common consent, the rank of the most distinguished statesman of Europe. Two conditions are essential to the highest renown in public life, the possession of great qualities and great opportunities for their exercise; and with both he was sufficiently provided. The career of the prince has been the longest, the most difficult, and (for his own principles) the most triumphant in the annals of modern diplomacy. He has been now before the world for near half a century. During the former part of his public life he was engaged in sustaining the fallen strength of Austria, and during the latter half

in the scarcely less difficult task of securing her established power. The fortunes and policy of the imperial house of Austria have been more than once identified with the characters of those supreme servants of state, whose ministerial functions have been extended to the utmost limit of absolute power, and protracted beyond the ordinary duration of human life. But of these illustrious ministers, who have lived in the long and secure administration of one of the greatest empires of the earth, none ever retained that high and responsible position amid events of such infinite magnitude and variety, or with so unlimited control, as Clement, prince of Metternich.*

Prince Metternich was born at Coblentz on the 15th of May, 1773. The son of an able Austrian minister, of ancient and noble family, he was educated for diplomacy, and after studying the national law of Europe at Strasburg, and going through the admirable course of education appointed for the *élèves* of the foreign office, he entered early into the service, and was one of the masters of ceremony at the coronation of Leopold the Second, in 1792. He afterward continued his studies at Mentz until 1794. In 1795 he was sent as Austrian minister to the Hague. The first Congress which he attended was that of Radstadt, in 1797; in 1801 he was sent minister to Dresden; afterward to Berlin, where he represented also the court of Westphalia; and he rose with such rapidity,† that in 1806, after the peace of Pressburg, he was selected for the important post of embassador in Paris. Austria, like Prussia, had suffered excessively in her conflict with France.

Both were undergoing terrible retaliation by the sword of the French emperor, for the feebleness of their assault on the French Republic, and both, by their calamities, were exhibiting the most direct moral of the hazards of national insincerity, of timidity in council, and of slackness in the field. At length, both powers, with all their strength mowed down, and their sovereignty plowed and harrowed by the power of France, were forced wholly to abandon dependence on themselves, and to

* Galignani's Messenger.

† Was the chief agent in uniting Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by the treaty of Potsdam in 1805, for which he received the Grand Cross of the order of St. Stephen.

wait for the chances of time and the course of things to renovate the moral soil. Diplomacy was now the only instrument by which Austria could hope to preserve even the semblance of an independent government; and it is a signal proof of the talents of young Metternich, that he was selected for that most important of all missions, the embassy to France; for it is in times of national distress that court favoritism and imperial folly lose their power of perverting the national choice, and the claim of superior abilities establishes its right to distinction. On his arrival at Paris, Count Metternich, although only thirty years of age, yet, by his noble and engaging physiognomy, his easy and graceful manners, his refined and cultivated mind, descendant of the old and aristocratic family, and representing a great and ancient monarchy, soon became distinguished above all others, and gained for himself an easy access to the favor and consideration of the French emperor.* Napoleon never treated him with roughness, but seemed rather pleased with his society; and Metternich embraced the opportunity to prove to him the necessity of a union between France and Austria. The policy of Metternich was to conceal from the emperor all thoughts of the intended breach; and, with that dissimulation of which he was a perfect master, continued his assurances of amity, while Austria armed herself for the coming contest.

Upon the declaration of war by Austria against France, Metternich returned to the imperial dominions, and joined the Emperor Francis, who had taken refuge in the fortress of Comorn, in Hungary. Three days after the memorable defeat of Wagram, Count Stadion retired from the office of minister of foreign affairs, and Count Metternich was selected to succeed him. His first effort, upon his elevation to that station, was to conduct the negotiations with the French minister Champagny, and to gain a respite for his bleeding country at the price of an archduchess. The reasons assigned by Prince Metternich for this step were, that he found the finances of the country

* Napoleon at this time had relaxed his policy toward the French noblesse, and was, in consequence, surrounded by a mass of the ancient nobility, with whom Metternich soon ingratiated himself with the insinuating address and graceful manners which he so eminently possessed. He was not long in penetrating the secrets and scandals about the court of the Tuileries, and in captivating and obtaining the favor of the principal personages, and even of Napoleon himself.

embarrassed; its military strength weakened; its public spirit crushed by misfortune; and he hoped by this measure to raise his country from the abyss into which it had fallen, as well as to recover back such portions of the empire as Napoleon had wrested from it. But if any thing can aggravate the humiliation of that transaction, it is the conviction, which the court of Austria must then have had, that this sacrifice was made in vain.

The time approached when the great scourge of the Continent was at length to be trampled under foot, and France to feel a portion of the evils which she had inflicted upon Europe. The march to Moscow was the phrensy of conquest; the delay at Moscow was the infatuation of a power which thought itself irresistible; the retreat from Moscow was the infliction of a punishment long ripening for the crimes of the empire. On the return of the French armies into the field, the murderous battles of Bautzen and Lutzen gave formidable demonstration to the French emperor that he had taught his enemies to fight, and that his European supremacy could no longer be maintained by the sword. Diplomacy was now to decide the question of empire, and the fate of the war depended upon Austria.

In the interval of dubious peace which had uneasily followed the treaty of Schönbrunn, the Austrian government, under the control of Metternich, had applied itself unostentatiously, but indefatigably to the arrangement of its finances; the restoration of its army, and to all the means by which national vigor is to be infused once more into a fallen country. Within the four years from the defeat in 1809 to 1813, Austria had made prodigious advances in the renovation of her power. The great object of the allies was to obtain her connection; the great object of Napoleon was to secure her neutrality. On this occasion, Austria proposed herself as mediator, and Russia, Prussia, and France acknowledged her armed mediation; and Napoleon found the former embassador now the organ of a voice which was virtually to decide his fate. Metternich met him in perhaps the most momentous conference that ever was held in the field. His first proposal was peace, but the conditions were the surrender of the French conquests in Germany. Napoleon, with an infatuation only equaled by

his attempts to negotiate at Moscow, spurned the idea, and even went to the length of charging the prince with receiving the money of England.* An insult of this stamp, put an end to the interview, which had lasted till near midnight, and was carried on at times in tones of passion so violent as to be overheard by the attendants. The alliance of Austria decided Napoleon's fate. The 10th of August, 1813, had been assigned as the period within which France might accede to the proposals of the three powers. That fatal hour passed by, and Count Metternich drew up on that night the declaration of war on the part of Austria against France; and on the morning of the 11th, the Russian and Prussian troops marched over the Bohemian and Silesian frontier. A month later, the grand alliance was signed at Toeplitz; and on the eve of the battle of Leipsic, the Emperor Francis conferred on Metternich and his heirs the dignity of a prince of the empire. In the conferences and negotiations at Frankfort, Friburg, Basle, Langres, and Chaumont, which accompanied the invasion of France, Prince Metternich took a prominent and active part. He directed the negotiations of the Congress of Chatillon, signed the convention of Fontainebleau with Napoleon, and subsequently that of the first and second peace of Paris, in 1814 and 1815. Subsequently he presided, as has been seen, at the several Congresses of the allied powers at Vienna, Carlsbad, Troppau, Laybach, and Verona; and has, without exception, received all the highest orders of distinction which the different monarchs of Europe could bestow.

Prince Metternich in person is rather below the ordinary size, has a well-formed head, nose large and aristocratic, eyes blue and expressive, a mouth well shaped, and with a smile ever at command. His whole person, countenance, and demeanor, are indicative of high station, superior intellect, and finished elegance. He was not remarkable for his native genius or subsequent acquirements, but his distinguishing traits were his knowledge and perception of character, and the arts by which he bent them to his own purpose. He could entertain a circle of fifty persons with ease and amiability, without

* Alison's Europe.

resorting to ordinary resources. He would participate in the dissipation and the follies of his superiors and equals; but he would, at the same time, be searching the means by which he could turn them to profit. It was impossible to know better than he how to discover the weak sides of those around him, and, what is still more difficult, to render himself necessary to their frailties.*

The mode of execution which Metternich employs is truly singular. To a perfect knowledge of the principal persons with whom he has transactions, he joins an address not less astonishing in the choice of his instruments. He has formed for himself a gallery of living Metternichs, from whence he draws forth his embassadors and agents. With a gigantic mind he spread his toils over the whole Continent—had his spies in all the capitals of Europe: in Portugal he was with the Miguels; in Spain, France, and in Italy, with the aristocrats and priests; and at Constantinople most intimate with the sultan. It was by these means that he held for so long a time the destinies of Europe in his hands.

Metternich was never the sanguinary tyrant that some have supposed; he was averse to all extreme measures, and particularly opposed to shedding human blood. No political executions ever took place at his instance. Those which occurred upon the tumults in the empire, which followed the French Revolution of 1830, occurred by the express orders of the Emperor Francis. Metternich's disposition is more truly exem-

* L'Empéreur de Russie, commencant à se fatiguer des bacchanales nocturnes qui se succédaient pendant la durée du Congrès de Vienne, et Metternich craignant de se voir privé de sa présence et de perdre tout le fruit de ses belles combinaisons, imagina de nouveaux passe-temps plus analogues aux goûts de son nouveau maître. Les magnifiques tournois, les bals, et les diners, furent tout à coup remplacés par de *petites soirées* données par Metternich, et auxquelles présidait, en qualité de *souveraine*, la belle Princesse de S. née Princesse de C. La famille de cette dame, ne voulait point se prêter à ce manège, fit manquer le plan projeté, et cette dernière quitta Vienne incognito pour se rendre à F——g, où Alexandre la suivit. La belle fugitive fut encore obligée de se dérober aux poursuites de celui qui voulait absolument faire sa conquête; mais Metternich, dans cet intérim sut profiter des circonstances; et c'est principalement par la vertu des charmes transcendans de ce talisman, qu'il attira successivement Alexandre aux ennuyeux Congrès de Troppau et de Laybach.—*Tablettes Autrichiennes.*

plified by the general amnesty for all political offenders throughout the empire, with which commenced the reign of the imbecile Ferdinand, and during whose term Metternich was "indeed the state."*

As a legislator, Prince Metternich's capacities have ever been regarded as moderate; as a financier, the bankruptcy of Austria during his administration certainly furnishes no recommendation; but as a skillful diplomatist or an adroit courtier, it can not be denied that he has ever stood unrivaled.

The first great secret of his success was, that by the qualities described he ingratiated himself into favor with Napoleon, and, during his residence at that court, occupied himself in acquiring a profound knowledge of the character of the French emperor, and in devising his plans and preparing himself for performing, in after years, the principal part in the political drama of Dresden and Prague. The principal object in procuring the marriage between Napoleon and the Austrian archduchess, was not so much to restore the fallen fortunes of his country, as by this means to obtain a still more perfect knowledge of even the private life of Napoleon, and to acquire such influence over him as to make it, in after years, an easy task to hold the conqueror of Europe in suspense, during the Congress of Dresden, the invasion, armistice, and Congress of Prague, until the Austrian armies should have been sufficiently recruited and prepared to enter the contest.

The art with which Metternich passed from the alliance with Napoleon to neutrality, from neutrality to mediation, and from mediation to the coalition against him, will in every age be considered a master-piece of diplomacy.

The great principles in the foreign policy of Austria which Metternich seems, during his whole career, to have kept steadily in view, are:

1st. To preserve the principles of legitimacy throughout all governments.

2d. To maintain peace, and secure the balance of power in Europe.

The term legitimacy is a modern device in the politics of

* Francis himself was heard to say, "In forgiving and pardoning I am a bad Christian; it is too difficult for me; Metternich is much more compassionate."

Europe. When the allies dethroned Napoleon and his brothers, they wanted something to oppose to the claims which he derived from his election by the people. A phantom was consequently created at the Congress of Vienna, called *legitimacy*, and since that time has been constantly used, but never defined, as indeed it would be difficult to do, since the facts before the world are too stubborn for this theory of the hereditary descent of nations, like property. The Legitimists of Europe, par excellence, and they who are especially known by that name, are the Elder Bourbons, the oldest house except that of the Guelphs, and one which has supplied one hundred and twenty sovereigns to Europe, *originated with a usurper*. But it is generally used to denote the lawfulness of the government in a hereditary monarchy, where the supreme dignity and power pass by law from one regent to another, according to the right of primogeniture.

In the support of this system, nations and their rights became as chattels in his hands, which he disposed of at pleasure, where he could effect the greatest advantage. He sacrificed the Greeks to the Turks, the Poles to Russia, and the Italians to their oppressors. He aided, in France, the restoration of the ancient absolutism, and favored the bigotry of Spain.

But his principles are best explained by himself.

When the Neapolitans, in 1820, heard that the Austrians intended interfering to suppress the Constitution they had extorted from their king, Prince Cimitilé was sent to Vienna to deprecate the intervention, and to give assurances of the wish of his government to conform as much as possible to the desires of the Austrians. The answer given by Prince Metternich, at a personal interview, is stated as follows: "The present Neapolitan revolution is the work of a profligate sect, the work of surprise and force. Were the courts to grant it any countenance, even by silently looking on, it would be equivalent to scattering the seeds of rebellion in lands where they have never yet taken root.*

"The first duty, and the highest interest of the powers required them to crush it in the beginning. As to the readiness

* *Fürst Clemens von Metternich und sein Zeitalter*, von Dr. W. Binder.

of the Neapolitan government to endeavor to prevent the extension of the propaganda, even if it be really able to do so, it merits but little gratitude for that which we shall require from it as a duty. The recognition of the new order of things in that kingdom would both shake the foundation of our own state, and deprive Naples of the only means she now possesses of opposing the terrors of anarchy. These means are, order and the support of those principles on which alone the tranquillity of states is grounded; and these principles will conquer as soon as the government is resolved to maintain its former institutions against the attacks of innovators and party spirit." When the embassador, not a little astonished at these remarks upon the true state of things, inquired "if a peaceable arrangement was quite out of the question," the prince continued as follows: "Here arrangement is not the object in view. We must apply a cure. Use your endeavors to cause all the well-disposed men in your country to request the king to reassume the reins of government; to annul every act since the 5th of July; to punish the individuals who have brought their country to the brink of destruction; and, finally, to adopt measures likely to ensure the happiness and prosperity of the people. Then will Austria, all Europe, support you in this praiseworthy undertaking."*

On Cimitilé's expressing his doubts that any one could be found, in the actual state of things at Naples, to hold such language, the prince replied, with noble confidence, "If you do not find such, his majesty, my emperor and master, will assuredly supply them. He, the ruler of men who avow these principles, and who have power sufficient to effect the good I have pointed out to you, will come to your aid. *Dispose of eighty thousand, or, if needful, one hundred thousand Austrian troops, which shall advance at your first requisition, and conduct you to Naples as conqueror of the rebels.*"

Prince Cimitilé expressed, with bitter feeling, his regret that, having come to prevent measures of violence and bloodshed, the Austrian cabinet should devote itself wholly to such extreme measures. "Yes," continued Prince Metternich, and

* Binder.

concluded the interview, "blood must flow, but it will fall upon the heads of those who have sacrificed the honor and happiness of their country to the suggestions of selfish ambition. As for me, I throw off all responsibility, for I only act as the interests of my nation make it incumbent for me to do."

This principle of legitimacy owes its origin more properly to that aristocracy among the powers of Europe which was commenced by the Quadruple Alliance, for twenty years, of Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, made at Chaumont in 1814, confirmed by the form of negociations at Vienna, and finally perfected by the accession of France, at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle.

It is remarkable that a principle so totally at variance with the rights of man, should have its origin in a convention which could make the following declaration: "The sovereigns recognize as the fundamental principle of the high compact now existing between them the unalterable resolution, neither in their own reciprocal concerns nor in their relations with other powers, to depart from *the strictest obedience to the maxims of popular right;* because the constant application of these maxims to a permanent state of peace, affords the only effectual guarantee for the independence of each separate power and the security of the whole Confederation."

TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE AND PRESERVE THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE.

It is the complacent boast of his biographer that Metternich had maintained the peace of Europe for twenty years; and, in fact, the great monument which the prince has raised for himself, after near half a century of public service, is that of richly meriting a title which Louis Philippe arrogantly assumed, "the Napoleon of peace." In the first place, the position which the Austrian empire occupies in relation to Europe rendered the pacific policy, with her, more a matter of necessity than it was an exhibition of virtue. By reason of its geographical location, occupying a middle place between the east and the west, between the north and the south of the European continent, the empire is called upon to discharge the functions of ballast in the European ship of state; and as



the shock of every disturbance, in whatever quarter of Europe it might occur, must vibrate through her, the readjustment of the European equilibrium, on such occasions, becomes to her a matter of vital interest.

While such have been the leading motives or inducements to such a course, "the line of policy adopted by the Austrian court to keep at a distance from the destructive movements of the times," as he terms it, is explained by the biographer of Metternich to have existed, not in the measures of internal policy alone, but in endeavors to effect a restriction of the press in Germany; in the direct interference to suppress the Revolution of Naples; and in the indirect intervention, by urging an obsequious ally* to undertake the crushing of the revolutionary party in Spain.

To avoid "the destructive movements of the times," he afterward occupied the states of the Church with Austrian armies upon the slightest disturbance. Even as late as two years before he surrendered his power, he extinguished the Republic of Cracow, the only foot of soil left of an empire that once extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and the last refuge of Polish nationality; and the very last year of his more than imperial sway, opposed the liberal party of Switzerland, and supported their opponents, the Sonderbund, as is said, by the "material aid" of a million of dollars. The twenty years of peace so boastfully alluded to, have witnessed not fewer changes than the period which preceded them, the sole difference being that it will probably require more time and more bloodshed to correct much of the evil accomplished in them. Such a peace is not the peace of satisfaction and content; it is the peace of the grave, and which follows the extinction of all vitality and energy among the people.

A lasting peace on the European continent can not be expected until such a modification of the existing governments takes place as shall cause the rights of individual citizens to be respected under all circumstances, at home and abroad. The system of crushing, by armed interference, the demands which must, by turns, be made in every country for an enlarge-

* France.

ment of popular rights, can only be justified by the supposition that no progressive mental improvement takes place among the people which would entitle them to what they claim; and as no government has hitherto gone the length of attempting to prove that civilization is stationary in any part of the world, these demands will not end, the pretext for encroaching on the rights of the weaker states not cease; but these commotions and troubles continue to increase in frequency and virulence, so long as the present system of opposition prevails on the part of the stronger governments.

SUBSERVIENCY TO RUSSIA.

While Austria, in the furtherance of her pacific policy, has extended her influence over her neighbors on three sides, a totally different policy has been pursued toward the powerful and encroaching nation that joins her eastern frontier, and to which she seems to have endeavored, of late years, by every means to render herself subservient.

Had the Austrian monarchy been justly governed, the interest of the people properly regarded, the resources of the country wisely developed, it might at this day have stood at the head of all the powers of Europe.

The inexhaustible resources of every province, each large enough to form a separate kingdom, combined with the varieties of mental capacity displayed in the inhabitants, constitute materials for the creation of an unconquerable power. The agricultural profusion and mineral wealth of the Hungarian and Polish provinces; the manufacturing spirit of the inhabitants of Bohemia and its agricultural wealth; the mines of Styria and Carinthia, and the unsurpassed fertility of Lombardy, united, offer a mass of internal wealth unrivaled by any other European state. Large navigable rivers traverse the country in all directions, and afford means of communication to commercial enterprise, to which the possession of no unimportant extent of sea-coast likewise invites. In the population such varied elements combine as might be expected to turn these means to the best advantage. The skillful, industrious Lombard, the wily Illyrian, the hardy Hungarian, the meditative German, the patient, persevering Bohemian, and the



fiery but versatile Pole, form a mixture of energies admirably calculated to assist and correct each other. With these advantages, added to those of her geographical position in the centre of Europe, and holding the supremacy of the German Confederation, it is not a little mysterious that Metternich should have suffered, if not assisted to promote, Austria's subserviency to Russia.

The policy of Austria has been characterized for ages by an insatiable thirst for the extension of territory, and by the oppression of every country which she has held in subjection. What has become of her former ambition, as boundless as that of ancient Rome, and which dictated the device of the five vowels graven on her earliest monuments, A. E. I. O. U.? (Austriæ est imperare orbi universo.) She could repel the French from Italy in 1831, and restore the ancient regime, but she does not oppose the ever-increasing influence of Russia in Poland, Persia, Turkey, and even allowed her great outlet, the mouth of the Danube, to be guarded by Russian bayonets. Since the days of Catharine the First, Russia has augmented the religious ties which exist between the Russian and the Turkish provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and of Turkish Croatia and Dalmatia, and striven to detach them gradually from the Ottoman Porte. They are now almost entirely governed by Russian consuls, and that influence increases the more from its being unobserved, as it were, in the shade; and the inhabitants are, even at this day, more Russian than Turk. Sooner or later these provinces will be attached to the colossal power of Russia, and they will become, with Greece, the natural allies of Russia (the same religious tie binding them), and form one boulevard, which will surround Austria, and bid defiance to all Europe, while she controls the waters of the Mediterranean.*

In later years Austria has placed herself under obligations to Russia, from the influence of which she will never be able to escape; in the first place, by pecuniary relief which Russia afforded her, in 1847, by a loan of 50,000,000 florins, a sum which has since been increased rather than diminished; and,

* Tablettes Autrichiennes.

in the second, by the incalculable debt of armed intervention, in saving for the Austrian crown the important province of Hungary, which, without the aid of the autocrat, would have been lost to the empire.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE.

Throughout the empire the form of government is monarchical, though in some provinces the power of the sovereign is absolute, in others limited; in some he has always been hereditary, in others he was formerly elective.*

In the hereditary or German states of Austria the power of the emperor has long been absolute. These are under the direct control of the imperial chancery at Vienna, and are all governed by one and the same code of laws, civil and criminal. The Italian states are governed by a viceroy, and have a jurisprudence of their own. Hungary is a distinct kingdom, under a palatine, in the selection of whom they have a voice, with an independent Constitution. Transylvania, except that it is but a principality, stands on nearly the same footing as Hungary. Throughout the empire (with the exception, perhaps, of Hungary), the whole *legislative* power is vested in the emperor, who proceeds either by original edict or by rescript, which is a reply to some public body or person empowered to make application to the crown.†

The edicts and rescripts are forwarded to the various functionaries, and copies are printed annually for general use.

No approval, adoption, or registration of any sort is required to give efficacy to an edict or rescript, except on the subject of finance; but a money bill must be submitted to the Stände or State, meaning a kind of Diet, by which the right of apportioning the taxes is exercised.

* The empire of Austria is not, as is frequently supposed, a pure monarchy; it is rather a cluster of monarchies, some of which are pure, others mixed; some parliamentary and constitutional, others not. Accordingly, the system of government which has hitherto been pursued has endeavored to accommodate itself, as much as possible, to the peculiarities of each monarchy; and, while the *executive* functions have been exercised by the emperor alone, or by his officers, the *administrative* functions have been exercised by him conjointly with the respective Estates or Parliaments.[1] † Quarterly Review.

[1] Eight kingdoms, one grand duchy, four duchies, one principality, one sovereign earldom, and one margravate.—*Thompson's Austria.*

These Stände, which exist in the German, Illyrian, Bohemian, Galician, and Tyrolian provinces, are composed of four classes: 1st, the clergy; 2d, the nobility; 3d, knights or inferior nobility; and, 4th, the citizens or deputies of the royal towns. The members who represent the clergy and the nobles, sit, some in their own right as individuals, and some as deputies for the rest; the burghers or citizens are elected by the corporations of their respective towns. The States meet once a year or oftener; they form a single chamber; the governor of the province or royal commissioner presides, and resolutions are decided by a majority of votes. The deliberations of the States extend only to subjects relating to the internal regulation of the provinces and legal apportionment of the taxes. The land-tax, which it has been resolved on to raise, is consequently announced to them by the government in the form of a postulate, and they have the right, in their legal assemblies, to present remonstrances to the emperor or provincial government.* Possessed of no power, they have dwindled down into mere agricultural societies; the whole system is a mockery, as no member, for years, has been found hardy enough to allude to subjects not contained in the postulate.

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, a somewhat more popular system prevails. Each of the two provinces has its Assembly, with attributes and powers similar to those of the German Stände, but their internal composition is wholly different. They have neither ecclesiastical members nor nobles sitting in right of birth or property, nor deputies of close corporations. The members are all elected; but through the medium of a double, or, rather, a triple stage of election. The two great classes of Contadinni, the proprietors of land, and Cittadinni, the inhabitants of towns, are the primary electors, the suffrage dependent upon the payment of a certain sum in annual taxes. Those primary electors choose by ballot, from their general body, a Council of Election, the members of which must possess a still higher property qualification than is requisite for the primary elector himself. The Council of Election nominates by vote, from the members of its own body, a certain

* Turnbull's Austria.

number of candidates, and from these candidates the crown selects those who shall act as members of the Provincial Assembly; with the power, however, in its discretion, of rejecting them all, or of ordering a new selection.*

In Hungary and Transylvania the diets or parliaments, previous to 1848, were purely aristocratical bodies, which have been hitherto omnipotent in maintaining for the nobles their feudal privileges and their exemption from all direct taxation. They consist of two chambers—a chamber of hereditary magnates, and an elective chamber of deputies from the counties, the free towns, the higher clergy, the magnates, and the widows of magnates.†

But of these deputies, the country members, who are themselves all noble, and are chosen by nobles, have alone the privilege of voting; the deputies of the free towns, contrary to the spirit of the ancient Constitution, being merely allowed by the nobles to sit and speak, on the ground that, being under the immediate protection of the crown, they might be obsequious instruments in its hands.‡ The *executive* or sovereign acts through central councils or boards, each of which has its chancellor or president, communicating below with the provincial councils, and above with the cabinet, which surrounds the emperor. The cabinet, for many years, in Austria, and down to the outbreak of the late Revolution, consisted of the Archduke Louis, uncle of the late emperor; the Archduke Francis Charles, the brother; Prince Metternich, and Count Kolowrath. Nominally, the Home or Interior Department was under the charge of Count Kolowrath, and the Foreign Department under Prince Metternich; but the prince was the animating spirit of the whole.

The policy of Francis (or, rather, the policy of Metternich), which has governed Austria for the last fifty years, was, in a measure, decided by the remarkable course of his uncle, the Emperor Joseph, who almost immediately preceded. The Emperor Leopold succeeded Joseph; but his reign, which lasted but two years, was not distinguished by any particular

* Turnbull's Austria. † Ibid.
‡ Quarterly Review, 1849.

stroke of policy, other than an attempt to efface, as rapidly as possible, the reforms of Joseph.

Joseph no sooner became sole sovereign than he began a multitude of reforms. With headlong enthusiasm he at once attempted to uproot every ancient abuse, and to force upon his subjects liberty and enlightenment for which they were totally unfitted.* Abolishing, without hesitation, the customs of the different countries which he undertook to reform, he required all to surrender the portion of good they possessed, and to receive at his hands what he imagined to be a fuller measure of the means of acquiring prosperity.† With an abundance of excellent intentions, but with a total want of practical sense, he pulled down the edifice of the state in order to construct a huge scaffolding, which broke under its own weight. He established liberty of the press, a tolerance of all religions, relieved the peasants from vassalage, emancipated the Jews, abolished torture and capital punishment, also the begging orders, closed all nunneries, and six hundred and twenty-four monasteries, humbled the hierarchy and the nobility, and attempted to give unity to the state by establishing uniform laws and a uniform administration throughout his empire. But these reforms, although commendable of themselves, were so injudiciously applied, and the people so unprepared for their reception, that they were unattended with any beneficial effects; but all tended to his own injury and final destruction, and the latter part of his reign was devoted to revoking his most important reforms, in order to avoid the necessity of resorting to extreme measures. The liberty of the press, which he granted, was by the Jesuits employed mostly against himself. In his abasement of the nobility‡ and clergy, he created for himself a host of implacable enemies, who harassed him to his latest hour. His attempts at reform in Transylvania excited a revolt of the peasantry against the nobility, which he quelled only by the severest measures. Despite his abolishment of capital punishment, the leaders of the revolt were condemned to

* Menzel's Germany. † Quarterly Review, 1837.

‡ Colonel Szekuly to exposure in the pillory for swindling, and Prince Podtsatsky Lichtenstein, for forging bank-notes, to sweep the streets.—3 Menzel, 90.

the wheel, and one hundred and fifty others impaled alive.* The Hungarians rebelled; and so intense and general was the feeling against him, that, to the astonishment of all Europe, he revoked all the acts of his government in that country. Against his tax law of 1789, both nobility and peasantry rose, and gave the signal for a general revolt. His attempts to govern Belgium by laws suited to the Austrian empire created an outbreak in that distant province. On hearing that even the peasantry, on whom he had attempted to bestow such immense benefits, had arisen against him, he exclaimed, "I shall die! I must be made of wood, if this does not kill me!"

Broken-hearted and dejected, he died in three weeks, leaving behind him the following lines, which will serve as his epitaph: "I know my own heart; I am convinced of the sincerity of my motives; and I trust that, when I shall no longer exist, posterity will judge more justly and more impartially of my exertions for the welfare of my people."

It is, no doubt, comparatively easy for us, who have the experience of half a century, the most fertile in historical results that any age of history affords, to form a clear judgment of the true course which the Emperor Francis ought to have pursued, on his accession to the throne, to consolidate his power, and insure the prosperity of his people, than it was for him at the time, bewildered as his view must have been by the failure of the well-meant, but inconsiderate changes attempted by his uncle Joseph. Had any enlightened friend been at his side, who could have pointed out where the real faults of Joseph's policy lay, it is probable that the unsophisticated mind of the young emperor, which raised the hopes of his subjects to a high pitch, would have comprehended the truth; and the firmness which he sufficiently displayed in after-life must have secured his success in acting up to it.† As it was, nothing could be more natural than that he should deem the people incapable of appreciating efforts made for their good, and consider his uncle as the victim of the basest ingratitude. It was, probably, the experience thus gathered, strengthened by the terror and disgust which the disgraceful scenes of the French

* 3 Menzel, 85.

† Quarterly Review, 1837.

Revolution at that time were calculated to awaken, which brought the conviction into the mind of the Emperor Francis, that an unlimited power in the chief governor of a nation is the surest pledge of its prosperity; and that, as all popular reforms tend to limit that power, they must be opposed, as the sources of all evil. He also looked upon this high prerogative as an inherent right in his family—one holier and less disputable than any other; and the line of conduct which he pursued aimed at first procuring its acknowledgment by all his subjects, and then at securing it against all attacks.

As the policy of Joseph and of Francis were totally antagonistical, the first step of Francis was to annul all the popular reforms of Joseph. The policy pursued by Joseph was to depress the nobility and elevate the people; the earliest efforts of Francis were directed to the prosecution of opposite measures.

In order to keep the people in check, the privileged classes were raised, conciliated, and supported. It was laid down as a settled principle, that the preservation of the *status quo* should be the unchangeable rule for the future; that the inviolability of their property and of their full rights should be guaranteed to the possessors of estates; that no further invasion of their rights and possessions should be made by the state; and that thenceforth the privileges of the lords of the soil should be the foundation of all rules of government, and its guide in the protection of national rights. From this period the state became nothing more than a guardian institution for the benefit of the titles, privileges, and possessions of the great landholders; and on this the system of legislation was settled, and its political course adopted.* The nobles by descent now acquired a greater degree of personal freedom than they had ever before enjoyed; at the same time, they secured the valuable prerogative of filling exclusively the different offices of the state, and thus appropriated to themselves the first posts in every branch of the administration.

Leagued with the clergy, they constituted themselves the especial guardians and supporters of the throne, against which,

* Thompson's Austria.

as they imagined and pretended, the people were hostile, and meditated mischief.

Both the nobles and clergy were decreed to be inviolable from all strictures of the press, an indulgence as ill-advised as it was injurious; for, in the absence of all restriction in responsibility, the nobles became overbearing, and the clergy negligent of their duties. The people, who had been raised, by the humane and philanthropic consideration of Joseph, from a condition of slavish dependence to a state of freedom, and were permitted to aspire to the highest honors, alarmed and intimidated at this sudden change of principles in the state, submitted in silence to the yoke again imposed on them. They were required to observe a demeanor passive toward the government, placing a blind and unlimited confidence in its wisdom, and submitting to its commands with prompt and patient obedience.*

The most striking contrast between the policy of Joseph and Francis, consisted in the fact that the former attempted to reign through the unity, the latter through the division of the different nationalities of the empire. Joseph's great effort was to give unity to the state, to establish uniform laws and a uniform administration. In the plenitude of arrogant power, and in the confidence of delegated wisdom, he planned laws from the midst of a distant and enervated capital for the citizens of Belgium, for the nobility of a Slavonic, and the rude and haughty freemen of a Tatar nation; but all his efforts were contravened by the diverse nationalities, and by the different degrees of civilization of the various provinces beneath his rule.

The fact that the Austrian Empire is composed of such heterogeneous parts of different races, varying in interests, language, and civilization; all bound up at different epochs to a whole, actuated by a centrifugal tendency, and having no other bond to connect them than the identity of a common sovereign, would, to a superficial observer, appear to constitute a great source of weakness, and the opinion would be unhesitatingly advanced that such an empire could not possibly be held together. But, under Metternich, this very circumstance proved

* Thompson's Austria.

the great pillar of its strength; by exciting the national antipathies, and successfully arraying one race against another—German against Bohemian, Austrian against Italian, Croat against Magyar, Serb against Szeckler, and Wallach against Saxon, he managed to hold the whole in check, and thus preserve, by the exercise of his favorite policy, *divide et impera*, the unity of the empire.

The subjects of the empire, divided by differences of race, language, religion, and sentiment, were incapable of combining against the monarch; and, however solicitous each people might be to preserve their own liberties and privileges, they were not prepared to resist encroachments on those of a neighboring people, for whom they had no friendly feeling. Thus the disunion, which was a source of weakness to the empire, was a source of strength to the emperor.

The leading feature in the administration of Francis, and which Metternich continued until the day of his abdication, was the so-called *Conservative* system. It was only by maintaining the existing order of things, which he held to be the only safe course, that Francis believed it possible to secure his subjects from being led astray by speculative ideas, and from entertaining notions of a constitutional form of government. The practice of adhering firmly to a principle because it exists, and is therefore presumed to be founded in justice, presupposes perfection in government, and that no improvement can be made. The result was, that all progress and advancement in every art and liberal science, in every calling, employment, and business of life, was impeded by the timidity of his cabinet, and the empire of Austria became stupid, stagnant, and torpid.

But this was not conservatism or statesmanship; for the magic of true conservatism and statesmanship consists in lopping off what is bad or decayed, in repairing what is old or broken, and, if necessary, in adapting the state to altogether new or different machinery.

The great effect of such a system was not only to arrest the onward movement of society, prevent the development of national characteristics, but its obvious tendency was to limit the freedom of exertion in the people; and this was the grand cause

of their dissatisfaction with the government. And what rendered it still worse was, that this state of things, with the pledges made by the government, was unalterable, since every indulgence granted to the people, every improvement made in their condition, every extension of their freedom, would have been an invasion of the guaranteed *status quo*.

The impediment to change which this conservative system presents under such circumstances, becomes, therefore, the necessary apology for inactivity when policy requires exertion; while this plea is advanced to excuse an injustice, which causes actual injury to individual as well as general interests.

Such being the policy determined on by the government, all the means at its disposal were marshaled in its support.

BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM.

1. The first source of influence brought by the government to the support of this policy, after that of elevating the nobility, was the "Bureaucratic system."

It is said to be a part of the plan of government in every German state, to employ one half of the nation to govern the other half; and the paternal care of the sovereign is studious to prevent the number of *employés*, who live at the expense, and, as they doubtless imagine, for the benefit of their fellow-subjects, from being diminished.* Besides, the number of those whose appointments are either of too low a rank, or of too secret a nature to be introduced in company with the first men of the country, may amount to as many more. Imagine these civil officers, dependent solely on the crown, dispersed through a nation which contains so many jarring elements, and where much loyalty can not, it seems, be presumed to exist; follow each of these as he enters into society, anticipating defection in all out of office, and necessarily disposed to vindicate the authority which gives him consequence; add to

* It was reported to the government several years since, by Count Radetsky (in his efforts to obtain an increase of the army), that the civil officers of the empire (not including Hungary and Transylvania), both open and secret, were one fourth larger than the army. The army at that time exceeded three hundred thousand; it has since been augmented to seven hundred and fifty thousand; and if the civil officers have borne any thing like a proportionate increase, some idea may be formed of the number of these officials at the present day.

these the number of fifteen thousand officers and non-commissioned officers of the staff and commissariat departments, all of which are to be found within the empire at the head of an army of seven hundred thousand,* including the peace establishment, together with the landwehr or reserve, and we shall see that the government has monopolized, by means of these individuals and their families, a powerful number of defenders in every social circle.† When it is recollected that the secrecy observed in all transactions, and especially in the administration of justice, screens every individual from the share of responsibility which every public officer ought to incur toward the public, some idea may be formed of the fearful power thus created, and of the abuses to which it must be subject. If it be considered that these officials, civil and military, require a rather superior degree of education to enable them to fulfill their respective functions, it must be evident that an immense mass of talent is abstracted from the middle classes of

* To which may be added, also, three hundred thousand custom-house officers throughout the whole empire, and at least fifty thousand grentzers. It is the middle classes which are possessed with a mania for entering the bureaus.

† The following rough calculation, drawn from the official statistics of the empire, will afford some idea of the means at the disposal of the government to secure its influence and support.

Those interested or employed in the support of government are as follows, viz.:

1st. Clergy whose revenues are protected by government...	70,000
2d. Nobility whose privileges exist only through government.	800,000
3d. The industry and commerce, " " "	784,000
4th. Civil officers, servants, and overseers in public offices..	400,000
5th. Pensioned individuals.....	100,000
6th. Army	600,000
7th. Proprietors of houses in cities, at least.....	400,000
	3,154,000

Of the thirty-eight millions of inhabitants in the empire, twenty-six millions, it is calculated, are cultivators of the soil, unenlightened and removed from the stage of political action. This leaves but twelve millions to embarrass the government; of these, one half, it may be calculated, are females; of the other half, viz., six millions, three millions one hundred and fifty-four thousand are, as has been shown above, interested in the support of the government. Of the remainder, viz., two millions eight hundred and forty-six thousand, one third, viz., nine hundred and forty-eight thousand, may be presumed to be young boys or imbecile old men, incapable of mischief, leaving, out of thirty-eight millions of inhabitants, but one million eight hundred and ninety-eight thousand who may be opposed to the government, or just about one half the number of its hired servants and interested agents.

the nation, which, in the pursuit of science, agriculture, commerce, or the fine arts, could not be otherwise than productive of the greatest benefits.

MONOPOLY IN TRADE.

2. Another source of influence to the government in the support of its policy is the system of monopoly in trade. A fact that the history of the last fifty years has sufficiently proved is, that popular tumults seldom originate among the peasantry of a country, and that the great problem of internal police is to keep the inhabitants of the towns satisfied and tranquil. To this end every city in Austria, beginning with the metropolis, is allowed to grant the freedom of trade to only a limited number of individuals; so that the mere fact of an apprentice having served his time by no means warrants his setting up in business.* Strangers who come into a city must either show that they are provided with means of support, or that they can procure employment, otherwise they are at once expelled. In return for this privilege of exemption from much competition, the merchant or tradesman pays a tax of no trifling amount, bearing the candid designation of earnings or income-tax.† In this manner the whole industrial class in Austria, being in some measure dependent on the government, which possesses the power to introduce a system of competition at will, are not dissatisfied with a state of things which assures to it a certain competence; and thus, apparently on easy terms, their support is gained for the present system.‡

PATRONAGE OF THE CHURCH.

3. Another source of influence to the government arises from the extensive patronage of the Church. The superior dignities are stated to consist, including those in Hungary, of twelve Catholic archbishoprics, fifty-nine Catholic bishoprics,

* Quarterly Review. † Erwerb. Steuer.

‡ It does not seem that any exact compact exists between the trading classes and the state, as to the number of privileged individuals in every branch; the butchers, however, form an exception, their number being fixed. This immunity is purchased by an extra tax, called the Slaughtering tax.



one hundred and fifty-one abbots and deans, with domains and revenues, beside an innumerable host of canons, deacons, archdeacons, and heads of convents. The monasteries have been reduced to the number sufficient for the service of the churches and the care of education; but, still the number of the clergy is immense, as may be inferred from the above enumeration of the hierarchy: in addition to which, the United Greek Church has five bishoprics; the Armenian Catholics, one archbishopric; the Schismatic Greeks, one archbishopric and ten bishops, besides inferior dignities, all of which (together with the nomination of all parish *curés*) are either presented by the crown or under its influence. These charges are also well provided for. The revenue of the Archbishop of Gran, primate of Hungary, is generally computed at one million of florins. The archbishoprics of Prague, Olmütz, and Vienna are proportionably well endowed; and, indeed, the revenues of the Church, including the tithes, when compared with the price of necessaries in so productive a land, may be said to exceed in amount those of the clergy in any of the great states of Europe.*

The remainder of the population, who are neither directly or indirectly under the influence of the government, are operated upon and kept in check by the following repressive measures of the government.

EDUCATION.

1. The Emperor Francis, at the Congress of Laybach, in an address to the professors of a public seminary, enjoined them to be careful not to teach their pupils too much; he did not want learned or scientific men, but obedient subjects;† and the various scholastic institutions are so regulated as to teach the several classes what is necessary for their respective callings, and, at the same time, to inculcate the precepts of religion and the duties of morality. With this view, the general supervision of the schools is vested in the clergy.

* For table of bishops and archbishops, also monasteries, see Appendix, note 2.

† "Leading principles of education to consist in guarding the mind against the danger of entertaining political errors, instead of encouraging its full development by free exercise of the faculties and well-regulated self-dependence."

Austria has exhibited a certain degree of determination and vigor in her plans of national education, which is the more remarkable when we take into consideration the difficulty she must have met with in organizing a scheme embracing the whole of her vast empire, with its variety in language, religion, and nationalities.

Education is under the direction of the *Hof-Studien Commission* in Vienna, *i. e.*, a commission to superintend studies appointed for the empire, whose duty it is to examine and report on every point connected with instruction, profane or sacred, civil or military; but they have no legislative authority of any kind, and even the substitution of one grammar for another can not be effected without the sanction of an imperial edict.* Education is gratuitous, but compulsory: it is not left to the option of parents whether they will or will not have their children instructed; they are compelled to send them, when of a certain age, to the national school of their parish. Besides, the disadvantages under which the uneducated labor are too many, and the laws too strictly enforced against them, even in the most distant country districts, to permit of general ignorance.† All children, both males and females, from the ages of five to thirteen, come under what is called the school age; and, as the description of education they are to receive is strictly defined, all, from the child of the simple peasant to that of the highest university professor, must pursue the path of instruction in the manner marked out by the state.

Public instruction is divided into the popular or national, the intermediate, and the superior. The popular consists of that afforded at the elementary national schools (Trivial-Schulen), the superior primary schools (Haupt-Schulen), and the (Wiederholungs-Schulen) repetition schools, for persons above the age of twelve years, analogous to the *Ecoles de perfectionnement* in France. Between this last and the next class there are a number of very admirably appointed seminaries, for the

* Thompson's Austria.

† Not only does neglect operate as a perpetual disqualification for employment, public or private, but the parish priest is forbidden to marry any not provided with a certificate of education.—*Quarterly Review*, 1839.



purpose of teaching the useful arts, and of giving special instruction in particular trades, being the schools of utility (Real-Schulen). The intermediate instruction is acquired in the gymnasiums, lyceums, and faculties or academies of different kinds, and the superior education is that attained in the universities.*

All the elementary and primary schools are under the direction and control of the clergy, the masters being the churchwardens of the parish. Besides these primary schools, gymnasiums, and lyceums, there are nine universities, normal schools for the education of teachers, and one establishment unique of its kind and extraordinarily emblematical of the character of the government. It is the Theresanium, a college founded by the empress whose name it bears, for the purpose of affording the youth of the aristocracy an education fitting them for the posts of *employés* and of general officers throughout the empire. The effects of this are manifold. All the scholars in the institution must be of the rank of *von* or baron, at the least, and, as the great majority of the pupils are pensioners on the government, which thus provides for a number of the children of poorer nobles, it links the high-born with the state, and creates a bond of union, which it is the interest of both parties to preserve. By keeping these young men distinct and separate from the lyceums and universities, it assists to preserve that line of demarcation between the noble and the class below him, which it has ever (with the exception of Joseph the Second's reign) been the policy of Austria to maintain. It affords to the students an early diplomatic education, and furnishes to the state a sufficiency of men versed in the theory of Austrian politics, to fill every office of emolument and trust under the crown; thus precluding the middle classes from rising to a share, however humble, in the administration of affairs. When the effects of this system are considered, it offers some clew to the means by which this vast empire has not only been preserved in tranquillity, but also in civil and political ignorance for so long a period, while the nations which surround it have labored under convulsions that have either

* Thompson's Austria.

threatened, or ended in, revolution, long before even a silent and unnoticed undercurrent was setting in that direction in Austria.*

In fact, throughout all the institutions of the Austrian empire, the system of studies prescribed by the state is in perfect keeping with its principles of government, acting always on the defensive, and jealous lest any thing should intrude itself opposed to the prerogatives of the civil authority, the laws of the country, or the rights of the sovereign. With respect to instruction in ecclesiastical law, the broadest distinction is made between the spiritual and temporal authorities, and that all controversies as to the independence of the temporal over the spiritual power, as to the immunities belonging to the ecclesiastical order, as to the rights of the sovereign to decree laws of mortmain, and to fix the age of vows, etc., are forbidden; such discussions belonging, it is alleged, properly to former ages, and not to the present time.

This excuse is a vail thrown over the governing principle of the empire, a vain attempt to conceal its jealous fear of having its principles touched upon, or an inquiry made into its rights. But, clearly as this vail is seen through, it shrouds the empire like a pall, which, corpse-like, rests beneath it.†

The University of Vienna, and, indeed, those of Austria generally, are held in little estimation in other parts of Europe.‡ But few professors of distinction, or works of celebrity, have thrown a lustre over them. A reference to the book catalogues of the Leipsic Easter fairs will present a state of facts which require no comment, that, in the year 1839, out of three thousand one hundred and twenty-seven German publications, only one hundred and eighty were Austrian.§ Such a state of facts is clearly attributable, not to the character of the country itself, but to the spirit of the government, which fetters the exertion of the human intellect, by coercing its energies, and by its Procrustean policy of attempting to mold every capacity after the same model. The system of education in Austria is unique in the history of mankind. The government monopo-

* Thompson's Austria. † Ibid.

‡ For the number of universities, schools, etc., see Appendix, note 3.

§ Quarterly Review, 1839.



lizes the charge; no one dares to instruct youth who has not received an authorization to that effect; the books employed must be those written by agents appointed to the task, and every word that falls from a professor's mouth is a subject of inquiry and interest for the council of state.

CENSORSHIP.

2. The next restrictive measure of the government is the *Censorship.*

Soon after the invention of printing, when the authority of the Church had been assailed, and was tottering under the load of its abuses, the popes of Rome resorted to the expedient of establishing this institution, in order to prevent the diffusion of knowledge, so injurious to the course which they were pursuing. They endeavored, therefore, to prohibit, first, the reading; and, secondly, the printing of certain literary works. They enforced the ancient decrees of the Church against the reading of heretical books, and introduced an ecclesiastical superintendency of the press in 1479 and 1496, which was more completely established by a bull of Leo the Tenth in 1515. As the papal decree could not be carried into effect in all countries, on account of the Reformation, the Council of Trent, in 1546, not only renewed the censorship, but prepared an index of books,* which nobody was to read under penalty of the censure of the Church. The censorship was soon after adopted by secular authority, particularly by the German Diet, from 1541 to 1577. At the peace of Westphalia, 1648, the institution was further not only sustained and sanctioned, but the emperors, in their elective capitulations, promised to watch strictly over the fulfillment of this Article.† In the capitulations of the Emperor Leopold the Second of Austria, in 1790, and of Francis the Second, it was further added (Article VI., § 8), "that no work should be printed which could not be reconciled with the hyperbolical books of both Catholics and Protestants, and with good morals, or which might produce the ruin of the existing Constitution or the disturbance of public peace." Since then the censorship of the press has been

* *Index librorum prohibitorum.* † Americana Encyclopedia.

upheld in all the nations of Europe (except England, where it was abolished in 1694), as one of the most important machines of government.*

In accordance with the decrees of the Carlsbad Congress, 1819, and the resolutions of the German Diet sustaining them, September 20, 1819, the censorship in all the states of the German Confederation became one of the conditions of union.

In Vienna twelve censors are established, to some of whom every book published within the empire, whether original or reprinted, every article which appears in the newspapers, even to an advertisement, must be submitted. The censor having received the manuscript, exercises his own taste and judgment in erasure or alteration of such passages as he disapproves; and being generally some phlegmatic personage, well imbued with the genius of the government, one great object of his care is to exclude all expressions which might appeal to the imagination or the passions of the reader. It is not permitted even to elucidate the actually-established political system, the dreaded discovery of whose weakness is carefully guarded against by purging the language of common usage from all such dangerous words and expressions as "popular rights," "popular opinion," "public spirit," and "nationality."

Their corrections are sometimes exceedingly ludicrous, as appears from the following example of a work treating of conflicts quite unconnected with the Austrian empire, where the expression "heroic champions" was cut down to "brave soldiers;" and "a band of youthful heroes, who flocked around the glorious standard of their country," became "a considerable number of young men who voluntarily enlisted themselves for the public service."† The effect of this institution upon the literature of Austria has been already hinted at. Chilled by the restrictions of the censorship, more vigorous and stringent than in any other of the German states, in fact, than in any other state of Europe except Russia, the literature of Austria possesses no character, and hardly a name. An Academy of Sciences, such as exists in all the other capitals of Europe, uniting men remarkable for their capacity and

* Americana Encyclopedia. † Turnbull's Austria.



merit, and stimulating by encouragement their emulation, was never attempted in Vienna before the year 1847, and then was likely to prove a failure, because, notwithstanding all the exertions of Baron von Hammer Purgstall, its most zealous as well as distinguished supporter, they were unable to procure for their efforts an exemption from the strictures of the censors. If the refining process was limited in its operations, and works of an exceptionable character alone excluded from circulation, an excuse might readily be found for the maintenance of the system; but when a tyrannical and meddling authority is exercised, descending even to puerilities, genius revolts from the rule, and, rather than be controlled by official ignorance, narrow-minded prejudice and intolerance, it refrains from the exercise of its powers, and sinks into apathy.

ESPIONAGE.

3. The next repressive measure of the government is through the system of *espionage*.

The institution of a secret police—if we do not consider the informers which every tyrant, from the earliest ages, probably, has had—may be said to have originated in France, under the Marquis d'Argenson, the lieutenant of police from 1697 to 1718, during the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. The prevailing licentiousness of those times had occasioned innumerable outrages, and D'Argenson, called, by his contemporaries, Rhadamanthus, hunted out crime in its deepest recesses, and brought it to light, whatever was the rank of the offender. The Austrian government, doubtless, copied a good deal from the French in this respect, as Lenoire, the chief of the police of Paris from 1774 to 1784, at the request of the Empress Maria Theresa, wrote a work for her on the subject of police regulations.* The secret police consists of a body of people of all classes, needy men and women of rank, mistresses, &c., down to the waiters in coffee-houses, and the lowest visitors of taverns and brothels, who report whatever they hear against the government.† The deplorable consequences of an institu-

* *Détail sur quelques établissemens de la ville de Paris, demandé par S. M. I. la reine de Hongrie.*

† Americana Encyclopedia.

tion so destructive to all confidence and sense of security are obvious, especially when we consider that these spies are the most worthless part of the community, and who may often invent stories to make themselves important, or serve some diabolical end. On the reports of such miscreants men's lives, liberty, and property depend; and the charges being kept secret, no means are afforded of refuting them. The more absolute a government is, and the more it strives to be the sole moving and regulating principle of society, to the destruction of individual freedom, the more will the police be developed; while, on the other hand, the freer a country is, and the more it follows the principle that every thing which can possibly be left to take care of itself should be so left, the more strictly is the police confined to mere matters of municipal regulation. In free countries, like the United States, the place of a secret police is, in a great measure, supplied by public opinion and the liberty of the press; and it is curious to observe how the most secret transactions or correspondence will, by degrees, come to light. In fact, a politician needs to be quite as much on his guard in the statements which he makes as in absolute governments, since the danger of their reaching the press is as great as that of their detection by the secret police.* In no country of Europe—without, perhaps, it be Russia—is the secret police more thoroughly organized, and its inquisition more vexatious and oppressive, than in the Austrian empire. Besides the regular corps of spies, who have no other occupation or means of subsistence, almost every other man you meet with is under the pay of the police—the man with whom you transact business in the city, the servants who attend upon your wants at home, and often even the companion who enjoys your hospitality, and to whom you confide your inmost thoughts, leaves you, and repairs to the police office to report your unguarded expressions.

The great object, however, of the system of espionage is not so much the information the spies are enabled to collect, which is generally not worth the cost of collection, but it is to keep down public opinion—to exercise a terrorism over the

* Americana Encyclopedia.

people, and thus effectually stifle the utterance of any liberal, and consequently deemed injurious sentiments.

It is well known that in no city of Europe, perhaps, is society so divided into little cliques as in Vienna; and this had its origin in the persecutions of the police, which forced a great portion of the community to withdraw altogether from general social intercourse, and to restrict its communications exclusively to its own set and connections; and even there, as well as elsewhere, the interchange of ideas was limited to such topics as the theatre, the fashions, and the light literature of the day. But these restrictions upon intercourse and conversation were among the least of the evils of this system.

To avoid the dungeons of Spielburg for life, there existed no other safeguard than either the maintenance of the most profound silence on all political and social questions, or the exercise of subserviency to the hypocritical extent of acquiescing in or extolling whatever was permitted to be seen, said, and believed by the community, or ordered to be received with demonstrations of satisfaction. In establishing the fundamental principle that the people should exercise no opinion, the natural consequence that they would be reduced to the point of possessing no temperament at all was lost sight of. The worldly direction given to the desires of the whole community, its estrangement from all intellectual pursuits, and its narrow-mindedness, founded on the most selfish struggles after money and possessions, produced by degrees so powerful an influence on the moral feelings, as well as on the social habits of the nation, that the grossest materialism and the most unblushing sensuality predominated universally.* The natural consequence of this state of things is easily foreseen; for man, consisting both of body and soul, feels as much the necessities of one as the other. As the existing systems rendered nugatory all attempts to satisfy the higher aspirations of his nature, his whole being became absorbed in the acquisition of wealth and substance, and the enjoyment of sensual indulgences; and, being blunted to all feelings of intellectual refinement, he sunk into a state of demoralization and effeminacy.†

* Thompson's Austria. † Ibid.

An institution ever open to receive impeachments, but closed to all vindication, which encourages information against the simplest expressions of opinion and the slightest objections of a political tendency, which even intrudes into the most insignificant domestic and social concerns, affords unbounded scope for the indulgence of hatred, revenge, and defamation; and, letting loose the evil passions of bad and depraved spirits, places in their hands weapons more dangerous to the well-disposed than the sword itself. By offering facilities to the evil to blast with a lie the most valuable rights of man—his liberty, honor, and good name—and thus to ruin the prosperity of one family, and destroy the happiness of others, the whole foundation of public morality is undermined, and the very institutions which should be its support and protection, become the vehicles of terror and dismay.

Nor did this institution confine itself to the capital, or even the cities, but in its ramifications it extended throughout the empire, and, Briareus-like, held it all in its vast embrace.

EXAMINATION OF LETTERS.

4. Another check of the government upon the acts and conduct of the people consists in the examination of all the letters which pass through the Austrian post-offices.

The people of Austria have long been obliged to submit in silence to this heartless invasion of the sanctity of private correspondence. Even as early as the Smalkaldian war, this "devilish art," as the historian* terms it, was introduced into Germany by Spaniards and Jesuits.

The first regular post established in Central Europe, that of the "Thurn and Taxis," was distinguished by such a system of espionage. The knowledge of the affairs of other governments, which the examination of the correspondence between princes and generals afforded, most naturally suggested the importance of such an engine in matters of internal police; and in the Flemish intrigues and the Milan conspiracies, in the time of Joseph the Second, it already appeared in full and successful operation.

* Hormayer, *Franz und Metternich.*

The "Thurn and Taxis" post, which had its central bureau at Vienna, was presided over, at first, by a "plenipotentiary secret counselor;" and under the reign of Joseph the Second, was connected with the police of the city, and with the most secret cabinet of the emperor, and its operations brought to great perfection by his prime minister, Kaunitz.

Later, it was called the "*Chiffre Cabinet*," and had its bureau in the Imperial Palace, in that portion of the building fronting the Joseph's Place, known as the "Stallburg." The principal post in Vienna closed in the evening, most punctually, at seven o'clock, and the letter-bags, apparently, started off; but they were with great rapidity conveyed to the Chiffre Cabinet, in the Stallburg.

Here, by the assistance of a large number of clerks (who, composed of two sets, worked both night and day), the correspondence of embassadors, bankers, foreign agents, and any letters calculated to excite suspicion, were quickly selected from the mass, and, with great circumspection, opened, examined, and copied—a proceeding which lasted usually until midnight, but frequently until daylight, when the mail at length started, in truth, upon its destination.

The lives of the officers and clerks in this department must have been truly deplorable. Although well remunerated, they were, indeed, but little better than state prisoners. They were so strictly watched by the police, that the minutest matters of private conduct and character were familiarly known. How they lived, what they expended, where they went, who visited them and their families; in short, all that they said or did, were matters with which the police was at all times perfectly cognizant.

By the intense application necessary to the unraveling of diplomatic ciphers, and which was carried on with great success, many of their principal adepts lost their minds. But the most serious ills under which they labored, says the historian, were the injuries to conscience in the commission of perjury and forgery, which, in the course of their duties, they were not unfrequently compelled to undergo. Hormayer, the able historian of Austria, and for a long time keeper of the Imperial Archives at Vienna, after a quarrel with the Austrian offi-

cials, entered, in the same capacity, the service of Bavaria; and there, in his last works, written but a few years since, he exposes all the details of this iniquitous procedure; which, but for that circumstance, might have remained to this day undivulged.

A correspondence, he relates, was carried on for the space of fourteen years, by the Chiffre Cabinet, with a person in Bohemia, whose letters had afforded grounds for suspecting his loyalty. Assuming the name and imitating the handwriting of his correspondent in Vienna, they pretended to approve his designs, encouraged him to a full disclosure of his plans, as well as accomplices, and when these were sufficiently divulged, which it seems it took fourteen years to accomplish, the whole party were immediately seized and committed for trial.

The letters were opened, and the seals instantly imitated with a skill which defied detection.* The copies of all such correspondence, whose importance warranted the labor necessary in transcribing them, were, by order of the Emperor Francis, laid upon his table each day at seven o'clock, by which hour he returned from the morning mass, and the perusal of these documents, together with the reports of the secret police upon the subject of the foreign embassadors and ministers, their indulgences, expenses, connections, and transactions in the city, and which were also presented at the same hour, constituted, it is said, by far the most agreeable portion of his matinal exercises.†

What at first gave great importance to this proceeding—the examination of the mails—was the extent of the system, that it embraced the entire bounds of the German empire, and extended even to the Baltic Sea and Ostend, limits within which no state or family secrets could possibly remain sacred. By it all the intrigues carried on in relation to the Spanish, Polish, and Swedish crowns were fully disclosed; but, owing to the very importance and extent of these discoveries, they could not

* The impression of the seal was first taken with wax, and then, by some chemical process, this wax was immediately hardened, and constituted, in a moment, another similar seal.

† A curious document appeared in the London papers in the fall of 1851. It was the order of General Gergowski, imperial officer now in command of Venice, in which he invites information respecting every officer under his command.

long remain concealed, and the correspondence between Russia and Prussia, in regard to Poland, in 1772, coming to light in this manner, led to the establishment of separate government mails and private couriers. To this day, no foreign embassador or minister in Vienna thinks for a moment of committing his dispatches to an Austrian post, but private couriers take charge of and convey their entire correspondence.

But even these, as Hormayer discloses, can not be implicitly relied on. The Prussian couriers, he relates, as early as the reign of Joseph the Second, were bribed for life. At the first post station near Pirna, upon the frontiers of Saxony and Austria, from its retired position being a suitable location, a small house was erected, and there a branch of the Vienna Chiffre Cabinet was located. Upon the expected arrival of the Berlin couriers, they, with their dispatches, were taken charge of by these Austrian agents, conveyed in their own post-chaises, and during the most rapid driving they always managed to take full copies of all the important communications. In this way they continued their journey together to the last post station before Vienna (Langenzers Dorf), where the dispatch-bag was returned to the courier, and he and the Austrian agents separated, the one directing his way to the Prussian embassy, the other to the Foreign Office in the *Ballhaus Platz;* and, at the same moment that Count Keller, the Prussian embassador, was examining the original dispatches, Prince Kaunitz, imperial prime minister, would be occupied in reading the copies.

HABITUAL CONFESSION.

5. Still another check of the government upon the acts and conduct of the people is supposed to arise through the *confession* which the Catholic religion enjoins, and which, by the Jesuitical portion of the priests (who have ever been the instruments of state), especially in secrets of a political character, is not regarded as a sacred service. The introduction of the Jesuits into Austria by the government is not only coeval with the accession of the house of Habsburg to the throne, but the most efficient support at all times afforded that class by the state evinces the importance which has ever been attached to their services.

The mutual support of Church and Court has ever been re

garded as equally indispensable to both parties; and while the monarchs have never failed to put them forward on all occasions, the clergy, on their part, have not been remiss in faithfully preaching and teaching the enjoined doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience. It is not, however, by means of preaching and teaching alone that they have been regarded so powerful an arm toward resisting the innovations of the age, but it is especially by the powerful hold they have over the community, through the practice of habitual *confession*.

Every true Catholic at stated periods, either weekly or monthly, discloses most fully to his priest every crime or indiscretion of which he may have been guilty; and although in other countries, where the clergy are more independent of the government than in Austria, such confidence may not be betrayed; yet, under the relations between Church and state which exist in the imperial dominions, it would be taxing credulity rather too heavily to suppose that any important disclosure of a political character is not, by the Jesuits at least, immediately conveyed to the ear of power.

STANDING ARMY.

6. Another and most powerful check upon the acts and conduct of the people, and by which all attempts against the authority of the government are immediately suppressed, is the *Standing Army*.

All the disclosures, however important, obtained through means of the system of espionage, the violation of the secrecy of private correspondence, or that of habitual confession to priests, would be of no avail, without an armed and government-supported soldiery to crush insurrection in the bud, and suppress revolt wherever it may venture to raise its head. Austria possesses an army which, under the peace establishment, numbers five hundred and fifty thousand, and which was increased in 1848 to seven hundred and fifty thousand.*

A body of troops, in ordinary times, is quartered in every capital and in every town in the empire, the number in each

* For rates of pay in the army, see Appendix, Note 4.

being regulated by the size and character of the population. Infinite care, too, is taken in the disposition of these troops, which is always made with reference to the different nationalities. Agreeably to the "divide and conquer" principles of Metternich, no troops were permitted to remain at home, or in those provinces where they were enlisted and belonged, but invariably transferred to another and more distant nation, where they could not speak the language, had no sympathy with the people, and where they were ready, at any moment, to shoot them down with as little compunction as they would a foreign enemy whom they had never before seen. Bohemians, for instance, were quartered upon the Hungarians; Hungarians upon the Austrians; Austrians upon the Poles; Poles upon the Italians; and Italians upon the Croatians, &c.

Another most admirable arrangement for carrying out the same principle, and strengthening the empire at the expense of the provinces, consisted in the arrangement of the army, and by which each nation of the empire was instructed only in a single arm. The Bohemians, for example, were mostly infantry; the Hungarians, cavalry; the Austrians, artillery; the Tyrolese, riflemen; the Poles, lancers. The whole, therefore, when united under imperial command, constituted a powerful and efficient force; but divided, no province, in case of revolt, was possessed of a complete and formidable army.

Since 1830, the attention of the sovereigns and cabinets of Europe has been chiefly directed to military organizations, to defenses, to fortifications. Millions of money, and the highest orders of intellect in each country, have been devoted to armies, their discipline, implements, and organization, and this avowedly for the purpose of making the army serve as *internal police* as well as for external force.

Actuated by such principles, and aided by such measures, the enormous mass of machinery which pervaded the empire, and held in subjection the heterogeneous and discordant nations of which it was composed, was kept in continued and successful operation.

Though the form of government was despotic, yet in administration it was mild, and not personally oppressive. If there was the hand of lead, there was, at least, the glove of silk to

cover it. The government took care that the mass of the people were possessed of all animal comforts and enjoyments; that they were provided with work when well, and taken care of when sick; that the price of amusements was by law made so low that none need be deprived of their enjoyment; while the easy and happy temper of the people, and a long habit of obedience and submission to constituted authority, rendered them kindly disposed and easily governed.

But yet the people were far from being satisfied. Man has *intellectual* as well as *material* wants, and the former had always been totally disregarded. In fact, the principal cause of complaint with the people was that the government did too much for them, took too good care of them, provided too solicitously for their visible and material welfare; so that when that government was overthrown, they were in the condition of helpless infants, totally unable to take care of themselves.

Prince Metternich had forgotten, in his old age, that all Europe had been, during the last quarter of a century, in a state of progression, and that even in Austria, so still and stagnant, it was necessary to keep some pace, if only in a German jog-trot, with the rapid progress of other countries. Twenty years ago, Vienna was ten or twelve days' journey from Paris, and fifteen or sixteen days' journey from London. Now the Austrian capital may be reached in three or four days from either, and for every single traveler in 1830, from France or England, there are now fifty and a hundred pouring into the Leopold Stadt and the Stephen's Platz.

Travelers propagate ideas and notions as quickly, and possibly more successfully than newspapers. Although the newspapers in Vienna, before the Revolution, did not exceed the three which existed twenty years previous, still the great lines of German rail-roads had been completed, and these had done more to open the minds and awaken the intelligence of this Bœotia of Germany. During the latter part of Prince Metternich's administration, too, the various provinces of the empire, which had neither been drawn together by closer ties to the hereditary states, after the policy of Joseph, nor gratified by local administrations and reforms in accordance with their



usages, their language, and their laws, began to exhibit all the national tendencies which he labored so strenuously to extirpate or control; and the Magyar, the Czeck, the Pole, and the Lombard spoke in their several tongues the same language of independence.

To the prince, whose long experience, vigilant sagacity, and native instinct enabled him to pierce below the surface of society, and discern all that was feeble in its seeming strength; all that was unreal in its superficial prosperity; all that was boiling beneath its smooth tranquillity, a suspicion of the truth did not fail to present itself. Still, he struggled on. For a while he trusted that the deluge of democracy, which he had long foreseen, could be stayed during the term of his natural life; but latterly even this hope deserted him.

In the winter of 1848, his daughter remarked to a member of the diplomatic corps, at the court of Vienna, that her father had "never seen, during the long period of his public career, so dark a future, such sombre clouds," as then lowered over the political horizon. And, still later, the prince himself said, to a Prussian diplomatist,* "I am no prophet, and I know not what will happen; but I am an old practitioner, and I know how to discriminate between curable and fatal diseases. This one is fatal; here we hold as long as we can; but I despair of the issue."

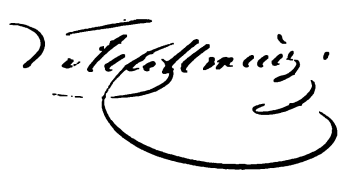
Such was the condition of Europe in general, and of the Austrian empire in particular, when the French Revolution of 1848 fell like a bomb amid the states and kingdoms of the Continent; and, like reluctant debtors threatened with legal terrors, the various monarchs hastened to pay their subjects the constitutions which they owed them.

* M. von Usedom.



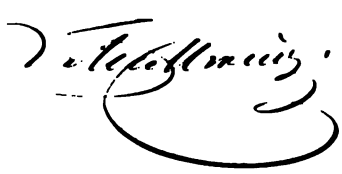














BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLUTION IN VIENNA ON THE THIRTEENTH OF MARCH, 1848.—THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE, AND FALL OF METTERNICH.—SUBSEQUENT ESCAPE OF THE EMPEROR FROM VIENNA, AND REIGN OF TERROR WHICH FOLLOWED.

THE commencement of the year 1848 was tranquil throughout Europe; and the European statesmen, particularly those of England, thought less of revolution than of projects of universal peace; and it was even contemplated that the several powers of the Continent should disband the vast armies gathered around their respective thrones, and convert their swords into plowshares. Yet, scarcely six weeks afterward, the dissatisfaction which had long pervaded France began to assume a threatening aspect.

Throughout the realm of Louis Philippe there was a suspicion abroad, which, though of slow growth, had ripened to a conviction that the king was false to the people; that a system of enormous corruption and extravagance was undermining the integrity of the country and absorbing its finances; that the interests of France, at home and abroad, were sacrificed to those of the Orleans dynasty; that a disguised, but not less real despotism, occupied the throne; indeed, that every advantage which had been gained by two revolutions was in danger of being repudiated; and that all this was not an accidental or an evanescent state of things, but the result of a policy deeply planned and relentlessly pursued—the development of an elaborate system, which had been matured even before its author was raised to the position whence it was to be put in practice.* The distrust of the king was almost universal.

Not a session of the Chambers had taken place for fifteen years without a demand for electoral reform; yet reform was

* North British Review, 1848.



far from being a popular desire until after the elections of 1846. At that election the Guizot ministry obtained an immense majority, as it was believed, by means of every kind of corruption and undue influence. Among its supporters were more than half a million of functionaries, most of whom were liable to removal by the will of a body of little more than four hundred and fifty deputies (three hundred of whom were themselves functionaries), and which did not represent the opinions and feelings of the people. This gave to the reform movement a vitality and energy which it had never before possessed.

In the stormy session of 1847, distinct and specific charges of corruption were made against the ministry. The trial of M. Teste and General Cubieres showed, at least, that there was good reason for inquiry; and the subsequent affair of M. Pettit, when the scandal was carried on within the cabinet of the incorruptible Guizot himself, has since indicated that the suspicions then existing were not wholly without foundation. The ministry refused any inquiry whatever. Trusting to its numerical strength, it took what may be called a vote of confidence; and, a great majority having declared themselves satisfied with their conduct, the ministry considered their triumph complete. This ill-advised step produced a disastrous effect upon the country. If the ministry, it was said, succeeded in packing the Chamber by corruption, who could expect that the corrupted would be otherwise than satisfied with the corrupters? The result was, that, instead of regaining the confidence of the nation in themselves, they impaired the confidence of the nation in the Constitution; for if, under it, such things could exist, men would reason that the instrument itself must be defective, as "the tree is known by its fruits."

The Constitution, however, they were still unwilling to attack. In electoral reform they continued to place great hope. To promote it, the Opposition resolved to appeal from the Chamber to the country.* Agitation was to be their weapon; and this was to be carried on through a series of banquets. Several banquets were held, in various parts of the kingdom; but at length they were forbidden by the government. The Opposi-

* North British Review, 1848.

tion disregarded the interdiction; and, in the attempt to suppress the one proposed to be given by the electors of the twelfth *arrondissement* of Paris, on the 20th of February, the Revolution commenced.*

Then followed the struggles between the populace and the troops; the attack by the mob on the Chamber of Deputies; the fatal fire in front of the hotel of Foreign Affairs; the construction of barricades; the defection of the National Guard and the line; the abdication of Louis Philippe; the establishment of a provisional government; and the declaration of a republic.

The Provisional Government was proclaimed at Paris on the 24th of February. Scarcely had the French provinces accepted the revolution, when revolutionary movements were commenced throughout the southwestern states of Germany. On the 28th of February, a public meeting at Stuttgardt resolved to petition the King of Wurtemberg to aid in promoting the representation of all his German people in the Frankfort Diet, and for the emancipation of the press throughout Germany. A meeting of the members of the Chamber of Deputies, held simultaneously, expressed sympathy with this petition. A few days later, a liberal ministry was appointed, and a liberal envoy to the Frankfort Diet named to replace the conservative who had filled that office. On the same day, a similar motion was made in the Darmstadt Chamber of Deputies by Henry von Gagern; and on the following day, a large public meeting, held in Mayence, under the eyes of the Austrian and Prussian garrison, addressed a petition to the Darmstadt government embodying the sense of Von Gagern's motion.†

On the same day—the 29th—a deputation waited on the Grand Duke of Baden at Carlsruhe, and demanded liberty of the press, a burgher guard, and trial by jury. The grand duke acceded to their demands, and summoned M. Welcher, the leader of the constitutional opposition, to his council.‡ On the 1st of March similar scenes were witnessed at Hanau, where the Elector of Hesse-Cassel followed the example of the grand duke. On the 3d, Cologne, in the Rhenish provinces;

* M. Odillon Barrot's speech, and reply of Duchatel.

† North British Review, 1848. ‡ Quarterly Review, 1848.



on the 4th, Wiesbaden, in Nassau, and Frankfort; on the 5th, Dusseldorf, made similar demonstrations. On the 6th, a revolution took place at Munich; and Saxony and Saxe-Weimar followed in the train. The same demands were every where made for the abolition of the laws of 1819 and 1832 against the press. In the mean time, the Diet at Frankfort attempted to keep in advance of the movement. On the 3d, it resolved to abandon the idea of a uniform censorship of the press for all Germany, and to allow the several states to exercise a discretionary power, subject to certain guarantees. The torrent, however, moved on with an impetus that the Diet could neither check nor overtake. The citizens of Frankfort assembled on the 4th, and demanded the repeal of all exceptional laws since 1819; unconditional liberty of the press; trial by jury; a burgher guard; a general German Parliament, etc. At Leipsic, a public meeting of citizens, held on the 1st of March, petitioned the King of Saxony to lend his aid in promoting the representation of the German people in the Diet, and the establishment of the liberty of the press throughout Germany.* The next day the same measure was adopted by the university. The king attempted to evade the delegates who presented the petition by fair words, but yielded at last to renewed representations, sustained by petitions from various Saxon towns and villages.

Bavaria did not remain inactive; simultaneous meetings, held in Munich and Nuremberg on the 3d of March, adopted the usual petitions for representation in the Diet of the Confederation, and for liberty of the press. On the 7th, a royal proclamation was issued, pledging the king to use his utmost efforts for the accomplishment of these objects. On the 21st, the king abdicated in favor of his son. At Brunswick the movement began on the 5th of March, and in Hanover a few days later.

By the middle of March all the secondary German powers, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, the Hesses, ducal and electoral, Saxony, Brunswick, and Hanover, had yielded to the popular will. The movement was equally triumphant in the smaller

* North British Review, 1848.

states. The Dukes of Weimar and Gotha surrendered unconditionally on the 8th of March, and Henry, the seventy-second of Reuss, on the 16th.

Meanwhile, the Austrian empire was not tranquil;* in the north, Galicia, since the Polish revolt of 1846, and the political extinction of Cracow, had been kept in subjection only by the strong arm of military power. In the east, Hungary was making violent efforts to regain the many rights assured to her by her Constitution, but of which the Austrian rule had gradually deprived her; and in the south, the Italian provinces at that moment presented by far the most threatening aspect in their desperate struggles for independence. The German provinces of the empire were at this period calm; and little apprehension was entertained that their peace would be disturbed, owing to the fact that the people, as it was thought, were the most tame, material, and anti-revolutionary in Europe. Their immobility had been proved on so many occasions during the last half century, that if an intelligent observer were asked to point out a European capital where there was the least prospect of disturbance or revolution, he would confidently have designated Vienna. The inhabitants, appreciating the value and uses of money not less than their continental neighbors, were passive and immovable under the great monetary revolution of 1811, when, by an imperial decree, in a moment the *Schuldscheine*, or government notes, were reduced two fifths in value.† Yet a measure inflicting ruin on thousands was neither resisted nor complained of by the *burghers* of Vienna, but was submitted to almost as cheerfully as if it brought "healing on its wings."

Revolutions in other countries seemed, eighteen years previous, to produce as little effect on the inhabitants of the Kaiserstadt as this disastrous interference with their domestic currency. The French Revolution of 1830, although it profoundly agitated sections of Northern and Southern Germany, fell altogether without effect on Vienna. Not a citizen was tainted with French revolutionary principles, not a student looked otherwise than with disrelish on the tricolor. Nor was this

* Metternich had just arrived at the conviction of Louis the Sixteenth, that he must have his States-General. † Galignani's Messenger.

very wonderful. The tradesmen and inhabitants of Austria were, in comparison with other European countries, neither highly taxed nor grievously oppressed, and no change was deemed practicable as long as the present incumbents held the reins of government.

The first intelligence of the new revolutionary movement in France came upon Vienna like a thunder-bolt from a clear sky, and caused a shock which vibrated through every nerve of her political system. The public funds, the unfailing barometer of the public weal, immediately fell thirty per cent. The imperial family, panic-stricken by the tempest which threatened, were closeted in deep consultation; while the people, collected in groups throughout the streets, in the *cafés*, and reading-rooms, expressed themselves with a freedom and an earnestness altogether foreign to the habits of the calm and phlegmatic Germans. In the most public manner the people of Vienna sympathized with the revolutionists of Paris, loudly complaining of their own oppressions, and even, against their own interests, sustaining these opinions by acts, as in the case of the unanimous refusal of the medical students of the university to accept the situations of surgeons in the Austrian army, which, under other circumstances, they would have been so anxious to obtain. The authors and publishers had previously addressed a petition to the government for a modification of the censorship. This petition was unanswered and disregarded, and the petitioners felt themselves aggrieved by such an exhibition of ministerial haughtiness, as it was known that the emperor, from his kindness of heart, always felt inclined to gratify the wishes of his people. At the same time, among the trading and working classes, the demand for a more liberal government had become daily more vehement. At the meeting of the royal family and imperial cabinet alluded to, it was reported that all its members, with the exception of the Archduke Louis and Prince Metternich, were in favor of making immediate concessions to the people, as the only means of retaining the provinces, if not of preserving the throne. The Archduke Louis, uncle of the emperor, advanced in years, and still more antiquated in his opinions and policy, is said to have declared that, so long as he retained his situation in the cabi-

net, he would administer the government agreeably to the principles of his brother, the late Emperor Francis, by whom he was originally invested with the charge, and who, on his death-bed, had exacted of him a promise to this effect; but he added that, as his views were not in accordance with those of the other members of the imperial family, he would willingly resign his situation in the cabinet, and thus present no obstacle to the adoption of an opposite course. Prince Metternich, it is also said, declared his willingness to withdraw, but, not being able to dispense with his services, the imperial family and cabinet would not listen to his proposal. He, therefore, consented to retain his post, on condition of being, as hitherto, unobstructed in his administration of the government. Notwithstanding the number and skill of his spies, Prince Metternich was not at this time aware of the precise tone of public feeling in Vienna, but formed an erroneous opinion of it from the partial and sycophantic reports of his flatterers; or, if he was aware of what was actually transpiring in the city, he felt so confident in his own power, as to treat the development with contemptuous indifference.* That he foresaw the storm which threatened is evident, not only from the expression attributed to him, but from the frequent meetings of the cabinet and the anxious concern therein manifested. But how a man possessed of the superior intelligence, unexampled experience, and remarkable foresight for which the prince is so justly celebrated, should have taken no measures whatever to avoid or to meet the threatened catastrophe, is almost incomprehensible, and can only be accounted for, like the fall of Louis Philippe, on the ground of an overweening self-confidence. Had he, but a few months, or even a few weeks earlier, made some concessions to the people, they would have been content with much less than they now demanded, and he would have held in his own hands the control over them. The empire would then have been saved from danger, and he would have lived and died in honor in his own land, instead of being driven from it in disgrace in his declining years, and after half a century's unremitting labor in its service.

* If he foresaw, why did he not guard against the catastrophe? See book i., chapter ii.

The meeting of the Landstände, or Diet of Lower Austria, was fixed for the 13th of March. Among different classes of the people, petitions had been prepared asking for reforms, which it was designed to present, through the Stände, to the throne. The liberal character of the Land-marshal, or President of the Stände, Count Monticuculli, encouraged the hope that these movements would not be fruitless.

Especial activity in these preparatory measures was manifested by the *Politische Juridische Lese Verein*, a reading-club, composed of lawyers and others friendly to liberal principles; and among them were the students of the university, who, like their brethren in other parts of Germany, were thoroughly inspired by the spirit of progress. On the 12th, at a meeting in the university, it was resolved to present, on the next day, to the Stände, a petition prepared by one of the professors,* humbly soliciting an extension of political freedom, and in which the students exhibited a degree of boldness and energy which struck great terror to the hearts of their more prudent and timid instructors. Accordingly, on the following day, the 13th of March, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, the procession of students, headed by two professors, left the university and proceeded toward the *Landhaus*, in the *Herrengasse*, where were held the meetings of the Stände, the body to whom they designed to present their petition. Vienna had been engrossed with the subject for some days previous, and all were anxious to witness the result of so extraordinary and bold a proceeding: many laughed at it, and all considered its failure certain. A large number of the students, fearing that their names would be inscribed in the "black book," refused to join the procession, which was mainly composed of the more reckless portions, and presented a novel sight for Vienna as it moved along the streets, shouting for liberty, and terrifying the assembled crowds through which it passed. Having assembled in the court of the *Landhaus*, and in front of the building, many of the students, raised upon the shoulders of their brethren, or mounting the winter covering of the fountain in the centre of the

* Professor Hye.

court, which they used as a rostrum, and, pale with terror at their own daring, addressed short but significant speeches to the crowd, while the members of the Stände collected to receive them.* At an early hour the whole of the Herrengasse and the neighboring streets were filled with the populace. The crowd continued to increase; the shops were closed; and the affair began to assume a serious aspect, when the Archduke Albert† thought proper to ride through the Herrengasse, where he was received with acclamations. He urged the people to disperse, assuring them that their wishes should be taken into consideration; but they insisted on remaining until the result of their application to the emperor had been ascertained. His attempts at persuasion proved fruitless with the people, who by this time began to relish an excitement hitherto unknown in Vienna. The city gates were ordered to be closed, and the military called out. By this time, the Landmarshal having made his appearance, a deputation of the students advanced into the great saloon to present their petition. Not meeting with the favorable reception which they had anticipated, and thinking their personal liberty endangered, they raised the windows and cried out to their comrades in the yard below that they had been "entrapped in a snare." With a furious cry the young men rushed forward to the relief of their friends, demolishing the doors and windows which obstructed their progress; the excitement communicated itself to the crowd in the street, and the confusion and disorder became so great as to justify, in the eyes of the Archduke Albert, the intervention of the military. A company of grenadiers was then marched to the scene, when the archduke peremptorily ordered the people to disperse; but, being disobeyed, he directed the soldiers to fire. The troops, although of unshaken loyalty, could not at first conceive the necessity of an order to fire on an unarmed crowd, which could easily have been dispersed with the bayonet, and they hesitated. The hesitation was but for a moment; the order was soon repeated; the soldiers fired, and many victims fell. That moment—although

* Kossuth's able speech on the 4th of March, in the Diet of Pressburg, was read, and the effect upon the crowd was very impressive.

† Son of the late Archduke Charles, and general of the Austrian army.

without action—was the most important one that Austria has ever witnessed. In that moment the Revolution was assured, the fall of Metternich accomplished, and the unlimited power of the house of Habsburg, which they had enjoyed for centuries, struck to the earth. That hesitation on the part of the troops, though but for the briefest space of time, was long enough to shake the implicit confidence reposed in the imperial army.

The people now became enraged, and attempted to drag the archduke from his horse, which was only prevented by the courage of his troops.* The excitement was fearful, and grew more portentous as the news of this ill-judged measure spread like wild-fire through the city. The cavalry were then ordered to disperse the people; and in the great square, *Am Hof*, where they had assembled in large numbers, near the civic arsenal, another man was killed and several wounded. In the *Ball Platz*, where the palace† occupied by Prince Metternich stands, many inflammatory speeches were delivered, particularly against the prince, interrupted a thousand times by the cry of "Down with Metternich!" The military here again interposed; an orator, mounted on the shoulders of his comrades, was shot; and several others shared a similar fate. Military interference occurred about the same time in other parts of the city, and the people were thereby aroused to an indescribable pitch of excitement. To increase the agitation, a wounded student was mounted on horseback, and paraded through the streets, to exhibit to the outraged people his gaping wounds.

Intelligence of these disasters having been communicated to the emperor, by his orders the firing ceased, the city gates were closed, and the military were withdrawn to the most commanding positions of the city. The cries of the people for arms became more and more vehement; for, until that moment, axes, iron bars, and sticks, were the only weapons with which they could provide themselves. The utmost anxiety was felt to ascertain the conduct of the *Burgher* Guard, or armed militia, a kind of intermediate power between the

* German Almanac. † The Bureau of Foreign Affairs.

troops and the people. Would they side with the throne which had armed them, and become, at its bidding, the executioners of their fellow-citizens? or, would they defend the people against the hirelings of a monarch who had ordered them shot, because they asked for salutary reforms? Scarcely a moiety of this corps, harassed by conflicting duty, could be observed in the streets, in obedience to the summons which had been issued to secure the order of the city; but an accident, which shortly after occurred, soon decided that question, and with it the fate of the Revolution.

After nightfall, the mob made an attack upon the police office, the source of many of their sufferings. The policemen defended themselves and the building by firing upon the crowd that gathered in front of it. In one of these discharges, a ball, aimed at another individual, killed a *Burgher* Guard; the whole corps then immediately united with the students and populace; and opening to them the Civic Arsenal, over which they had control, all soon furnished themselves with arms.

In the afternoon, about five o'clock, the students again met in the university, and, after consultation, dispatched a deputation to the emperor, headed by the rector, to represent to his majesty the alarming condition of the city, and the necessity for preventing the further effusion of blood. Deputations from other corporations appeared, at the same time, before the assembled princes of the imperial house; and the emperor and his ministers were then besought and requested to accede to the wishes of the people for the salutary reforms which they had asked, and particularly for the removal of Prince Metternich and Count Sedlnitzky.*

The prince, who was present at that interview, with all the grace of the courtier, for which he has long been so highly distinguished, instantly tendered his resignation, stating that he "desired not to hold office one moment after he had survived the confidence of the people." The emperor immediately accepted his resignation, and expressed himself with energy against the employment of military force for the suppression of the insurrection. The several deputations returned in triumph to

* The chief of the police, and who was exceedingly unpopular.

their fellow-citizens, and an illumination was immediately commenced in honor of the partial victory.

During the night, numerous bands of ruffians, armed with clubs, perambulated the streets, breaking windows, and committing other acts of violence; but in the city proper they were prevented from the perpetration of any serious injury by the newly-armed citizens, who formed themselves into corps of patrols; yet in the more distant faubourgs, and particularly at their extremities, where the guard could not reach, the ravages were excessive in the plunder of stores, burning of dwellings, and total destruction of factories.

The next morning, the 14th, the triumph of the people seemed almost complete; and an order was issued, at eight o'clock, for the withdrawal of all the regular troops from the city, and for arming the citizens as a civic guard, in their place. The enlistment of men and formation of companies then commenced; and the students, and citizens generally, thus armed, and commanded by the officers of the *Burgher* Guard, now paraded the streets in an orderly manner, and preserved the tranquillity of the city. The proclamation of the emperor, permitting the arming of students and citizens, appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* of the same morning; but, although gratified at the concession, the people did not relish the concluding sentence, which threatened a resort to force, in case tranquillity was not restored. This portion of the proclamation was openly and energetically denounced. The people expressed a determination not to suffer themselves to be intimidated, but to represent to his majesty the absolute necessity of granting the concessions demanded by the advanced spirit of the age.

The principal concessions demanded of the government by the people, in their petitions, were the following: 1st. The arming of the citizens as a National Guard; 2d. The abolition of the censorship, or freedom of the press; 3d. A budget or publicity as to the disbursements of the public revenue; 4th. Responsibility of the ministry; 5th. The assurance of a Constitution.

The following is a chronological statement of the leading events which followed the successful efforts of the people:

On the second day, the emperor granted the National Guard, and forty thousand citizens immediately enrolled their names, and were furnished with arms. On the afternoon of the same day, two proclamations were issued by the government; one announcing that the censorship would be discontinued, and laws prepared, as soon as possible, for the regulation of the press; and the other declaring that the emperor would convene a deputation, or "Central Congregation of the German, Slavonian, and Lombardo-Venetian provinces, on the third day of July next, to give their counsel upon such questions of legislation and administration as might be submitted to them." These two proclamations, although pleasing to many, were not satisfactory to the leading and determined spirits of the Revolution, and were immediately met by counter-petitions—one from the booksellers and printers, and others from the citizens generally—complaining that the concessions in regard to the press were not sufficiently explicit, and that the delay in the convention of the Assembly for the formation of the Constitution was unnecessarily long. No fighting occurred on this day; but the citizens, provided with arms, and in full possession of power, awaited, with equal patience and determination, the compliance, on the part of the government, with the additional demands they had made. The National Guard, to preserve the public tranquillity, and to protect private property from the ravages of the mob, continued to parade the city, with great order and decorum, during the entire day and night, marching through all the streets, except those immediately around the imperial palace, where strong guards of the regular troops were still posted, to defend every avenue to its approach. It was strongly in contemplation, about this time, to force through the powerful guard that surrounded the imperial residence, and when access had thus been obtained to the presence of the emperor, to demand, and perhaps insist on receiving, the Constitution. Fearing such an event, the guard at every point was that night doubled; but no attempt of the kind, on the part of the citizens, was at any time made. Throughout the whole struggle, the citizens every where exhibited that remarkable patience and coolness for which the Germans are so distinguished. An illumination, however, again

took place on the evening of the second day, in honor of its results.

The third day (the 15th of March) appeared, and with it was to conclude the glorious struggle. In the morning, the population were still in a state of feverish excitement. Doubts were yet entertained whether they could fully depend on a peaceful settlement of the great questions of the day. The minds of many wavered between hope and fear. It was understood that the emperor had no objections to granting the two next reforms demanded, viz., a budget, and the responsibility of the ministry; but, as yet, the Constitution, the principal object of their wishes and efforts, remained unmentioned. About the same time appeared notices of resignations of several high officers, both civil and military, whose acts had rendered them obnoxious to the people. Among these were the Archduke Albert, commander of the Austrian army; Count Appony, the high chancellor of Hungary; Count Sedlnitzky, the detested minister of the Secret Police. Their stations were immediately filled by persons of acknowledged popularity.

After these repeated manifestations of obedience to the public will, the emperor, with a view to allay the public excitement, or to ascertain the effect of his concessions on the public mind, appeared, in an open carriage, in the streets, in his usual unostentatious manner. This mark of confidence on the part of the monarch was duly appreciated, and did not fail to call forth that love and devotion to a kind sovereign which they had ever entertained, and which the events of the last two days had not impaired. His appearance was the signal for joyful acclamations, which rent the air wherever he passed, and his carriage was at length beset by the enthusiastic crowd, who detached the horses from it and drew it themselves to the palace.

These exhibitions of loyalty and devotion excited the nervous temperament of the feeble monarch, and agitated him even to tears, as he exclaimed, "Why did you not communicate your wishes to me sooner?" It needed but this remark to prove that he had been a passive instrument in the hands of a *Camarilla*,* who, however successful in curbing the free prog-

* A Spanish word, meaning a little chamber, but applied in Europe to a secret and not recognized cabinet, and generally composed of the relations of the prince,

ress of the people, had not succeeded in impairing their loyalty. On his return to the palace (whether his majesty was so deeply penetrated with the manifestations of fidelity and attachment on the part of his subjects, or alarmed by the placards of the morning calling for a rally at three o'clock of all those who were not satisfied with his concessions, is a mooted point), appeared the proclamation granting to the people all that they had asked, in the most full and ample manner—not only a National Guard, and freedom of the press in more explicit terms than had as yet been given, but a convocation of deputies from each of the provinces, in which all classes were to be represented, with the least possible delay, *for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the empire.*

The publication of this proclamation, expressive of the emperor's entire compliance with the demands of the people, awakened among his subjects joy amounting almost to frenzy. Every doubt was now removed, every care dissipated. Deputation after deputation, from every class of the population, wound its way to the imperial residence, to express to his majesty the heartfelt gratitude which his concessions had awakened. On the appearance of the emperor on the balcony of the palace, acclamation followed acclamation, until it seemed there would be no end to the plaudits of the people, when an agreeable turn was suddenly given to the enthusiasm of the occasion by striking up, with ten thousand voices, the national air of Austria. Tears of emotion and delight filled every eye of that vast and motley group, and every heart seemed penetrated with the importance of that sacred hour which witnessed the dawn of their liberty. On the same evening, amid the jubilees and illuminations in honor of the promised Constitution, a deputation arrived from the Hungarian Diet, then sitting at Pressburg, consisting of one hundred and fifty members, headed by Kossuth. The object of their visit to Vienna was to ask a Constitution for the whole empire, as well as a separate and independent ministry for the kingdom of Hungary. In the first request, they were anticipated by the previous movements in Vienna; and the second, after much urg-

priests, intriguing women, etc. "A power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself."

ent solicitation, and even, it is said, violent altercation, in which the Hungarians were aided by their palatine (the Archduke Stephen), the emperor at length yielded to their demands, and appointed Count Louis Batthyányi as prime minister, with authority to form such a ministry.

On the fourth morning, the first period of the Revolution having passed, and the task of the people for the present terminated, the occasion was devoted to rejoicings and celebrations over the victory which had been achieved. Triumphal processions, in every direction, promenaded the streets. The emperor and empress appearing in public, the horses were detached from their carriage, and the sovereigns were drawn through the streets by their grateful subjects, while brilliant illuminations and torch-light processions closed the ceremonies of this memorable occasion.

In Vienna the whole aspect of things seemed changed, as it were, by a magician's wand. The people appeared to have passed at a bound from Egyptian darkness to "marvelous light." The secret police had entirely disappeared from the streets; the windows of book-stores were now crowded with forbidden works, which, like condemned criminals, had long been withdrawn from the light of day; boys hawked throughout the city addresses, poems, and engravings, illustrative of the Revolution—the first issues of an unshackled press; while the newly-armed citizens formed into a National Guard, marched shoulder to shoulder with the regular military, and maintained in unison with them, at every point, the public tranquillity.

Thus Austria, from being the farthest in the rear, had, by a single step, taken the advance of all Germany in the path of freedom; and nothing could have prevented her from realizing the splendid future which then dawned upon her political horizon, had her people only possessed the wisdom to improve the occasion, and profit by the victories which had been gained in the cause of enlightened government.

It is a prevalent doctrine that the desire for a constitutional government on the part of a people is evidence of their fitness to enjoy it; but whether this doctrine is universally true, or whether there should not be an exception to it, when that desire is not spontaneous, and where the people are incited by

the example of a neighboring state, by the feebleness of their own sovereign, or some other accident in the political atmosphere, the following history of events in Austria may possibly demonstrate.

No revolution—in examples of which the continent of Europe has, within the past few years, abounded—was more pure in its origin, honorable in its proceedings, stained with less blood, or disgraced by fewer outrages, than the March Revolution in Vienna, and which will ever remain a bright page in the annals of Austria.

The proclamation of the emperor, granting a Constitution to the empire, was received, except in her Italian possessions, with the utmost favor and joy, throughout all the provinces of Austria. With the exception of the highest aristocracy, to whom the late movements were a severe blow, universal exultation seemed to pervade all ranks and professions of the people. The educated, who were aware of the nature and benefits of a Constitution, duly appreciated the concession, while the ignorant were even more enthusiastic, regarding it as a panacea for all ills, or of the same nature with the measure which the English parliamentary candidate promised the people at the hustings; it was "to bring every thing to every body." They probably had as faint a conception of the meaning of the word *Constitution* as the Russians, who, during the rebellion which took place about the time the present monarch came to the throne, actually understood by the cry for a *Constitution* then made, to refer to the wife of Constantine, the elder brother who had been supplanted by the elevation of Nicolas.*

The government, by immediately commencing the necessary preparations for meeting the great change in the administration which had been decreed, manifested a sincere desire to pursue the course marked out for the ship of state upon its constitutional tack. The state of siege declared over the city by the military and civil governor, Prince Windischgrätz, during the first days of the Revolution, was soon raised, and the emperor granted a general amnesty to all persons throughout

* An Austrian peasant being asked what a Constitution was, replied, "Not to pay the Robbot." Cry of workmen in Vienna was, "A republic with an emperor."

the realm convicted or charged with political offenses. The prison doors were thrown open to all political offenders, not only to those engaged in the late struggle, but to those committed on all former occasions.

On the 17th of March, a new and responsible ministry was appointed by the emperor, of which Count Kolowrath became the President, Count Fiquelmont Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Baron Pillersdorf Minister of the Interior. It also embraced a Minister of Public Instruction, an office previously unknown in Austria. All the members of the ministry were regarded as men possessed of liberal and enlightened views.

On the 29th, the imperial police-office was entirely reorganized, the whole system of *espionage* abolished, and such portions of the department as it became necessary to retain were placed under the superintendence and control of the minister of the interior.

On the 4th of April, the *Staatsrath*, or Council of State—a bureau or department whose duty it was to regulate, at the capital, the affairs of all the provinces of the empire—was discontinued; as under the reform, the affairs of the provinces were to be regulated by their own officers at home, instead of by a bureau of strangers in Vienna. On the following day occurred the dissolution of the emperor's private cabinet. This imperial council being irresponsible to the people, and differing in its views and policy from the ministry beneath them, which it controlled, impeded most seriously all its movements and operations. But the most essential point gained by this measure was the consequent repudiation of the controlling influence of the Archduke Louis, who was at the head of the board, and the most obstinate and uncompromising advocate of the Metternich policy.

On the 7th of April, official intelligence was communicated to the public, that the Archduke Francis Charles, brother of the emperor, and heir-apparent to the throne, a man of moderate capacity, but amiable and liberal, and consequently a favorite with the people, was called upon to share with his brother the imperial labors, and in that capacity to preside over the council of ministers. On the same day occurred the resignations from the ministry of Count Kolowrath and Baron Kübeck, the

only members of the former cabinet that were retained in the first ministry, but who had been notoriously distinguished for the liberality of their views, and consequent opposition to Prince Metternich. Their places were filled by the substitution of Barons Wessenberg and Krauss, the former a statesman of note, who had been for many years an exile from Austria, on account of his opposition to the policy of the late administration of the empire.

On the 11th of April, the Emperor of Austria, by a *manifesto*,* released all tenants upon *soccage* lands from the payment and performance of such tithes and labor as they had been previously subject to, the decree to take effect after the expiration of the year 1848, and, in the mean time, they were allowed to become immediately free, upon satisfactory compensation to the proprietor for the intervening time.

By another decree, bearing date the 25th of March, the emperor ordered that the sanctity of private letters should no longer be violated, and that no communications passing through the post-offices of the government should be subject to inspection as formerly.

All these, it will be perceived, were liberal measures, and manifested a sincere desire, as well as effort, on the part of the government, to fulfill its promises and carry out the reforms projected.

Notwithstanding these favorable movements of the government, however, the situation of the empire was at this time imminently critical. Like the case of a patient who had just passed the crisis of a severe and dangerous disease, the utmost skill and judgment were requisite to avoid a relapse, which, in such an exhausted state of the system, was more to be dreaded than the original attack.

The following were some of the difficulties and dangers to which the empire was at that period exposed.

1st. It was composed of such a heterogeneous mass of races, differing from each other as much in character and civilization, as the countries in which they dwelt did in climate and production; and among several of whom no more similarity was

* Wiener Zeitung.

to be found than existed between the barren and snow-clad hills of Galicia and the fertile and sunny plains of Lombardy, and where, consequently, the nature of their wants and requirements must be totally dissimilar, and each probably would be dissatisfied with the boon granted to another.

2d. The sudden transition from an unlimited to a constitutional government; the want of sufficient preparation on the part of the people for such a change; and the danger that they would be inclined to demand too much, while the government might be disposed to grant too little.

3d. The fact that the concessions recently made were extorted by the people from the government, and not freely granted by it; and, consequently, the limit to those concessions being determined by the people, and not by the government, the danger to be apprehended was, that they would not agree in relation to their extent.

4th. The want on the part of the government of an able, independent, and popular ministry, which the crisis imperiously demanded. That body was composed, not only of few men adapted to the crisis, but none who were prepared even to undertake the duties of the station. The high aristocracy were the only persons in Austria educated for ministerial stations, and they were so obnoxious to the people as to render their appointment impossible.

It might have been expected that the people, duly acknowledging the important concessions granted them by the crown, would have rendered all the aid in their power toward carrying out the reforms which it had promised, and which it exhibited every disposition faithfully to fulfill. Such, however, was far from being the case. The gratitude which they felt, though almost unbounded at first, was but of short duration; and, in a very few days, every effort on the part of the people was made to increase those embarrassments, already nearly insurmountable.

Even the students of the university, whose important and laudable efforts had contributed so much to the success of the Revolution, became perfectly intoxicated by the glory which they had acquired, and the praise and homage bestowed upon them from every quarter, and soon conducted themselves in a

manner, not only to tarnish the fair fame which they had acquired, but to cover themselves with disgrace.

As soon as it became known throughout Europe that Austria had joined the progressive movement of the times, emissaries from different parts of the Continent, particularly from France and Northern Germany, flocked to Vienna, and, by their acuteness and activity, soon discovered the elements upon which to base their operations. The students of the university, ardent, inexperienced, and untiring, became admirable instruments in the hands of the unprincipled propagandists, whose great effort seemed every where to break down all government, destroy all the bonds of society, and to produce, as rapidly as possible, a Pandemonium on earth. So artfully did they flatter the vanity, and minister to the pride of the inexperienced youths, that they found it but an easy task to convince them of their fitness to perform the first parts in the drama before them, and to utter the leading voice in the reorganization of the state; and there was, consequently, from that period, no measure of the government which they did not feel themselves called upon to consider, and universally to condemn.

Another element for the action of these emissaries consisted in the numerous *proletaria*, or rabble, in and around the city, consisting of a large number of *ouvriers*, or workmen, in the different factories with which the faubourgs and neighborhood of Vienna abound, together with the thousands of idle and criminal beings that exist in every large capital, who, becoming easy converts to the Communist principles, diligently circulated among them, proved sources of great embarrassment to the government.

Still another obstacle to its efficacy was the abuse by the press of the concessions which had been made to that interest, under favor of which it filled the rabble with Socialism and other fatal doctrines.

In a few weeks Vienna was flooded with a most shameful literature. At every corner of the streets, and in all the public places, placards were stuck up for the perusal of those passing by, while boys and old men hawked about the streets the most licentious prints and pamphlets. These outrageous productions soon exercised the most baneful influence over the

ignorant and already corrupt mob, instilling into them a poison, which they swallowed with the greater avidity, because it had so long been forbidden. The most unwarranted attacks were made upon the imperial family; the most high and honorable statesmen were, in placards, exposed to the vilest abuse, and the nobility and clergy to the utmost insult. The sanctity of private life and character was most shamelessly invaded. Private differences became matters of public discussion, and the most solemn secrets of domestic life were published to the world. Every villain embraced the opportunity to inflict a stab in the dark, as it were, upon the man of irreproachable character, because he happened to be his enemy. In short, this liberty was soon changed into licentiousness, and this blessing into a curse.

Many new newspapers appeared, which soon increased the number from three to one hundred: these were the weapons with which the designing operated. By these means the students were excited to a still greater degree of intolerance and madness; the *proletaria* were corrupted, and the citizens eulogized as the van-guard of liberty throughout the Continent, became, for the most part, bewildered and extravagant both in their opinions and designs. The people, by these means, being thoroughly demoralized, violations of law and order soon commenced.

On the 1st of April appeared the provisional law for the regulation of the press. Although defective in many of its provisions, it was calculated to restrain, in some measure, the abuses of the press, which had become so rank and glaring. But, for this very reason, it did not accord with the views and plans of the agitators; and therefore, in the open contempt for its provisions, occurred the first palpable resistance to the law and authority. The university led the movement with its usual arrogance, and the provisional law of the press was publicly burned in front of that institution. Every one, excited by these agitators, was opposed to this enactment; and the government, instead of enforcing its observance, yielded obedience to the clamor, and withdrew the law.

A new and wider field was now afforded for the activity of the press. On the 2d of April, a decisive step was taken to-

ward a closer union with revolutionary Germany. The German tricolored banner, black, red, and gold, was hoisted by the students upon the tower of the cathedral of St. Stephen.*

The people, ignorant of the object of these demonstrations, and believing, as they were told, that it was merely an expression of sympathy for a closer union with the German Confederation, hailed the manifestation with great joy.

Even the emperor, not dreaming that the adoption of that flag betokened an incorporation with the Republicst of Germany, and, consequently, the overthrow and destruction of his monarchy, accepted a banner, when insidiously presented to him by a procession of students, who had proceeded with that object to the palace; with his own hands he waved the standard before them, and then ordered it to be hung from the windows of his palace. A united Germany now became the watch-word of the day, and as laws at this time issued from the university instead of the palace, every house in Vienna, in obedience to directions from that institution, was surmounted by a German national flag. The students not only marched under German banners, but paraded the streets decorated with German cockades and ribbons. It was remarkable how all, with one consent, gave up at once their own national standard. To be an Austrian had already become a reproach, and the venerable "*Schwartz-Gelb*,"‡ black and yellow, the only acknowledged colors of the imperial monarchy, the standard which had led the armies of the empire to victory under Maria Theresa, Wurmser, and the Archduke Charles, was by these new lights totally proscribed. In fact, so odious had the name of *Schwartz-Gelb* become, that no one had the courage to assume it; it was applied by the mob to the aristocracy, and was intended to signify every thing that was inimical to human rights, and deserved the universal execration of mankind.

The agitators now found a new means to gratify their licentiousness, and, at the same time, maintain the excitement so necessary to the prosecution of their plans, and that was the creation of *tumults* in the streets. The first exhibition of the

* German Almanac, "Austria," 1849.

† It was contemplated by the Radicals to convert Germany into six republics.

‡ Black and yellow, the Austrian national colors.

kind occurred on the 5th of April, in giving to the venerable archbishop of the city a mock serenade, and, at the same time, destroying his windows, under the pretext that he, and the clergy generally, were opposed to the new order of things; or, as was also alleged, because he declined to pronounce a blessing on the crown and *regalia* of the German empire, which, since the abdication of the Emperor Francis, the last monarch of that expired empire, had been kept in the imperial treasury at Vienna, but which the Emperor of Austria now proposed to send back to Frankfort by the newly-elected deputies.*

On the same day, a similar insulting serenade was given to the monasteries, the Liguorian or Redemptorists, and the Armenian Mechitarist's congregation.

On the following day, the Liguorians were lawlessly expelled from the city by a tumultuous mob, headed by the students and National Guard. These monks had been brought to Vienna by the state, to assist in the management and control of the people. The government of Austria, at that time, possessed neither force enough to save its friends or prevent this outrage.

It is true that the members of this order, from their connection with the Jesuits, were exceedingly unpopular among the people, and especially on account of their interference in the domestic affairs of different families. They had been pronounced guilty by the tribunal of history. A constitutional state afforded no place for their concealment, or field for the prosecution of their dark designs; but they should have been expelled by law, or the act of government, and not by the arbitrary violence of the mob. Later, by an imperial edict, this order of monks was dissolved; thus virtually giving the sanction and approval of government to the palpable violation of law and order which had occurred.† As might have been expected, after this public countenance by the government of such conduct, these tumults continued; and on the 8th of April, the mansions of the Pope's nuncio, of Prince Lichtenstein, the convent of Scottish monks, and the residence of the Minister of Justice (Count Taafe), were similarly assailed.

* German Almanac, "Austria," 1849. † Wiener Zeitung.

On the 20th of April, the magistrates of the city, on account of the repeated disturbances which were occurring, published a proclamation enjoining order, which was received, like every other legal communication at the time, with scorn. No one thought for a moment of regarding it.* All legal authority had ceased, and the Reign of Terror commenced.

The ministry were incapable of any energetic interference, and stood by silent and idle spectators of such scenes, without one effort to suppress them, and without endeavoring, by other means, to attract the attention and allay the excitement of the people. No effort was made either to enforce order or to preserve the integrity of the empire. At this very time a foreign enemy had invaded her soil; but, with the exception of a few additional regiments ordered into Lombardy, no measures were taken, and no patriotic appeals made to urge the people to the defense of the nation and the honor of the government. A gross violation of European treaties, and a total destruction of the balance of power adjusted by them, was in the act of consummation; and yet, so far as could be known, the ministry did not seek to ascertain whether these acts, on the part of the invading powers, met the approbation or disapproval of the other contracting rulers. When, in short, the empire was obliged to encounter both invasion from without and insurrection from within; when the emergency required vast concessions to the tributary kingdoms, and an energetic concentration of all the resources of the empire; when, indeed, it appeared that nothing could save the ship of state but heroic resolution and dictatorial power, the government of Austria was as inactive as if not a cloud had obscured the political horizon.

The ministry were, at this time, as far removed from the people as they ever were in the palmiest days of the ancient monarchy—too far to witness their sufferings or hear their complaints; while, unlike their predecessors, they were deprived of the aid of the secret police, and therefore had no knowledge of either the conspiracies or movements of the mob. They labored, also, under other embarrassments; they had no

* German Almanac.

public press to sustain their views and acts, while the columns of all the journals were open to attacks upon them. By the late changes, also, the aristocracy were rendered powerless, and could afford no support to the throne, while the people had no enlightened leader, to direct their movements or restrain the licentiousness of the mob; and it was, even at this time, greatly feared that, unless the ministry should awaken to their duties, and to the interests of the empire, these insurrectionary movements would become, at length, so insupportable, that the government would be obliged to quell the disorders by military force; and that this would give rise to a struggle which might result in the dethronement of the emperor and the proclamation of a republic—a form of government that the people, unfitted, as they were, even for a constitutional monarchy, would have found one of the greatest evils to which they could possibly have been subjected.

The students began now to cultivate a most cordial intimacy with the lowest classes of the population.* Declaring war against the nobility, clergy, military, and court; criticising and censuring whatever of character and respectability existed among these classes of society, they became the flatterers of the mob; talked to the *proletaria* of their sacred rights, and of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of all classes of society; and, with the breath of adulation, instilled into their minds the poison of corruption. For the advancement of their purposes, and to give more extensive circulation to their baneful influence, numerous clubs were now formed. Like that of the Jacobins at Paris, these clubs were the rendezvous of all the agitators. Here the masses received the first beams of enlightenment, and heard for the first time such words as liberty and sovereignty of the people; or, rather, were first taught practical definitions of those terms; that of the first, licentiousness; and of the second, anarchy. By a republic, they understood a total absence of all government. Each one, under such an administration, being a sovereign—the equal, in all respects, to the emperor; and their commands, whatever they might be, entitled equally to implicit obedience. Re-

* German Almanac.

spect for the authority of the laws was a lesson which they were never taught.

It was impossible that such seed could produce other than corresponding fruit, which soon began to manifest itself. Upon the principle that the government must support the people instead of the people the government, the employment of workmen at the expense of the state now commenced. Having nothing for them to do, but feeling obliged to afford them employment, the Minister of Public Works was forced (through the exertions of their friends of the university) to engage the *proletaria* at some unnecessary occupation, such as turning the course of a little dirty stream which runs through the *glacis* or common surrounding the interior city. The government had no one to overlook them; for the very idea of masters or overseers for sovereigns was an absurdity in terms, and they labored or not, as best suited their inclinations.

To continue to increase and to disseminate more widely the public excitement, *Popular Assemblies* were now resorted to. On the 14th of April, the first meeting of the kind took place in the Odeon, the largest room in the world, about five hundred feet in length and two hundred in width. Students, National Guards, and citizens, amounting to the number of six thousand, were in attendance. Discussions commenced, and the principal speaker was a Dr. Schütte, a foreign adventurer, well known throughout Germany from his active co-operation in all the revolutions of the time. He had the assurance to attempt to teach the citizens what their duties were in the present emergency; he told them that they should forthwith present to the emperor a *Sturm Petition* (a storm petition, or memorial to be accompanied by preparations for the use of force), which document, already printed, he drew from his pocket, and in which the desires of the people were expressed, viz., the opening of the Diet on the 25th of April, and the adoption of the same basis for the coming elections as had been followed when the committee of fifty for Frankfort had been elected. But at this time the people were not sufficiently ripe for such movements, and the proposal was declined. But a resolution that the present ministry of Austria (Baron Pillersdorf excepted) was unpopular, that particularly Counts

Fiquelmont and Taafe should be replaced by more acceptable men, and that Count Hoyos should be dismissed from the command of the National Guard—as a civic man should alone command civic guards; and, finally, that a proper electoral ticket should be issued, was passed amid tremendous enthusiasm.*

Such meetings were now of frequent occurrence, and every where Schütte was conspicuous for the violence of his speeches. On the 18th of April, he was arrested by the police, and expelled from the city. Upon this occurrence great stress was laid, and the excitement increased. The expulsion of this dangerous agitator, for which the government, in the maintenance of internal peace, would have been perfectly justified, took place in an improper and illegal manner. It seemed to be the fate of the executive authorities of that period either to do nothing at all or to do what they attempted in an improper manner. The arrest of Schütte made him a martyr, and aggravated the people by causing them to suppose that through him all their most sacred rights had been violated.

The agitation of the city became daily more visible, and only increased as the period for the publication of the Constitution approached. Its provisions began to be discussed even before the document appeared; the election law was openly condemned, and the propriety of one chamber instead of two in the legislative branch, warmly advocated.

Finally, on the 25th of April, his majesty's birth-day, when a great military display took place, forty thousand troops parading in honor of the occasion, the emperor embraced the opportunity to present to the empire his promised Constitution,† which in every essential particular corresponded with the desires and reasonable demands of his subjects, conferring on them as much freedom as was enjoyed under any Constitution in Europe, excepting that of Great Britain, and in one important particular excelling that, in its granting to *all* the provinces of his empire separate Legislatures for the management and government of their internal interests.

With the exception of the radicals previously described, who

* German Almanac.

† It was an alteration of the Belgian Constitution, to suit the state of affairs in Austria. The only objection urged against it was that it was too aristocratical.

had no precise idea what they wanted, and would not have been satisfied under any circumstances; the new Constitution seemed to have given general satisfaction; and in the evening, in token of the common joy, the city was brilliantly illuminated, and an immense torch-light procession paraded the streets and serenaded with patriotic songs the emperor and the ministry.

Despite the excitement kept up during several days, the efforts of the agitators were inadequate to suppress the prevalent indications of satisfaction produced by the final realization of the monarch's promise, in which fact the people recognized his determination to advance in the progressive course.

But the charter granted by the emperor did not accord with the views of the agitators. It was now criticised, and rendered odious in all the clubs and public meetings, and by means of placards and pamphlets. In this way the public mind was gradually prepared for the demonstration which was to take place on the 15th of May. Complaints of the reactionary stratagems of the Camarilla became more and more numerous and impudent. The press opened all its batteries upon the court, the nobility, and the clergy; and no step whatever was taken by the ministry to restrain its licentiousness.

Count Hoyos, being unable to endure longer the insults and annoyances to which his position as commander of the National Guard exposed him, the emperor with reluctance accepted his resignation, and appointed in his place F. M. L.* Chevalier von Hesse. The National Guard (who, during the whole period of its existence, had never attained a just conception either of their duties, their rights, or even the purposes of their existence) now demanded of Count Hoyos to resume the command which they had, by repeated insults, provoked him to resign. This noble and truly patriotic man responded to the call; and this sacrifice on his part was received, for the moment, with great joy; but scarcely had a fortnight elapsed, before their base ingratitude forced him a second time to relinquish the command.

On the 30th of April, the minister of war, Zanini, resigned

* F. M. L., Field-marshal-lieutenant, corresponding to the rank of General.



his office, and Count Latour, who succeeded him, entered upon his duties with great vigor, and issued an order to the army characterized by energy and point. He soon filled up the thin ranks of the army in Lombardy, which Count Radetzky shortly after led, with so much honor, to victory.

At this time another means of keeping up the excitement and agitation among the citizens was discovered. This was the celebration of what were called "*fraternal festivities.*" They were base imitations of the French banquets, not, like them, intended to ascertain public feeling, but only to array the refractory spirit of the people against any and every measure of the government.

The city of Vienna, from being one of the most quiet and orderly in Europe, became now daily a scene of the utmost anarchy. On the 4th of May, a party of students entered the office of the Minister of the Interior, and demanded the documents on file there relative to the Liguorians (Jesuitical monks), who had a few weeks before been expelled from the city, and for whose return it was understood that a number of citizens had petitioned the government. This petition, which was the principal object of their search, as well as the communication of the archbishop praying the government to make some provision for the support of the Liguorians out of the property of which they had been divested, together with the reply of the minister that the government would endeavor to take some measures for their relief, were thus forcibly extracted from the department, and immediately published. On the night succeeding that day, the students and National Guards, leading a mob of workmen from the faubourgs, numbering in all about ten thousand, appeared before the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and saluted him with the usual mock serenade.

After calling in vain for the minister to appear, against the remonstrances of the servants, who assured them the minister was not at home, they invaded the sanctity of his dwelling, and, penetrating his apartment, demanded of his terrified family where the count was. The countess replied, "At the Foreign Office." A deputation was immediately despatched to that bureau, while the great mass remained about the minister's hotel. The deputation sent to the Foreign Office, after

some resistance on the part of the domestics, gained access to the minister, and told him that the object of their visit was to communicate the will of the people, which was, that he should immediately resign his office. Count Fiquelmont, instead of ordering the insolent intruders from his presence—an act not only justifiable, but one which might reasonably have been expected from a veteran general of the army—proceeded to inquire of the committee what unpopular measures he had been guilty of that could have provoked the displeasure of the people. The deputation replied, that they had not come to debate any questions with him, or to pronounce any judgment upon his official conduct, but simply to advise him that his own personal safety, as well as the tranquillity of the city, depended upon his immediate compliance with the demands of the people. After a few moments, the count replied, that he would not only resign his office, but leave the city, if the public tranquillity demanded it. As this declaration was not sufficiently definite to suit the mob, they demanded further to be informed of the *exact* time when he proposed to carry his determination into effect. At this moment another deputation from the crowd entered the apartment, and assured the minister of the very great danger which would probably attend any delay on his part in offering his resignation, as the masses were increasing and pressing on his hotel. Count Fiquelmont then pledged himself to resign within twenty-four hours, and, in the interim, not to affix his signature to another official document. Satisfied with this assurance, the deputation escorted the minister to his hotel, where one of them, from a veranda, harangued the multitude, informing them of the accomplishment of their object; and, after compelling the count to make his appearance, and to reassure them of the fact, they withdrew. On the following day, agreeably to the pledge which he had given (although under duress), Count Fiquelmont tendered his resignation of the bureau of Foreign Affairs.

The details of this disgraceful affair are given, not only to afford a more correct idea of the state of anarchy which then prevailed in the city, but also to illustrate the remarkable fact that a government, which a few weeks before had been, phys-



ically speaking, one of the most powerful in Europe, from the gross mismanagement with which its affairs had been conducted, had become so weak as to be unable to protect the highest officer of state from the insults and indignities of the rabble.

On the day following this outrage, the emperor issued an earnest and touching exhortation to his people, to keep within the bounds of law, as the only means of insuring the progress of the ameliorations they desired. The agitation, however, so far from subsiding, continued daily to increase.

For some time there had been in Vienna a self-constituted committee, called "the Central Political Committee of the National Guards." This association, aided by the students of the university, had been, from time to time, discussing in the public prints the propriety of the different measures of the government, and directing all the political movements which had recently taken place; while, on the other hand, the ministry, instead of suppressing, on its very first appearance, this unconstitutional body, or controlling its movements; instead, even, of defending, by the aid of reason, its own measures, or combating the arguments advanced against them, at length arrived at the determination to issue an order for abolishing instantly this central political committee; and, upon the injudicious and absurd ground, that, having become now a part of the *military* power of the *country*, the members were, consequently, excluded from all participation in *civil* affairs, or from engaging in political movements, and the discussion of political subjects.

The next day (the 14th) a petition was forwarded to the ministry, remonstrating against the order of the previous day, and stating that, although they had taken up arms for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the city, they were not, by that act, to be disfranchised, and that they would never blindly lend their aid to sustain measures of the government which did not meet their own approval; and they consequently demanded the immediate revocation of the order against the committee. They also took occasion, at this time, to ask that the Legislative Assembly, as proposed by the emperor, in his programme of a Constitution, should consist of one instead of

two Chambers; that certain alterations should be made in the law provided for the elections to this Chamber; that the city gates and imperial palace should be guarded equally by regular military, National Guards, and the Academical Legion; and that the military should not interfere in preserving order in the city, except under the most pressing circumstances, and then at the request of the National Guard. The National Guard and students combined having sent in this petition, and threatening violence in the event of its rejection, the community became more agitated than ever. The National Guard paraded the streets during the night, while the regular military remained under arms on the *glacis*. On the following day the excitement increased; and in the afternoon, when no answer appeared to their petition, the students resolved upon what they termed their *Sturm Petition*, or carrying the petition by storm. Having loaded their fire-arms, they marched against the palace, where they expected to be joined by the National Guard, and a large number of workmen, whom they had summoned from the faubourgs. In the mean time, by order of government, the gates of the city were closed, and a strong guard of regular military stationed in every direction around the palace, with cannons loaded with grape-shot, and torches ready lighted. Night came on; the students and National Guard were pressing, on all sides, upon the palace, while workmen by thousands, armed with scythes and axes, thundered for admission at the city gates. No answer had yet been given to the petition. The government, from all appearances, had determined on resistance, and a dreadful collision was momentarily expected. Nothing occurred, however, until just before eleven o'clock, the time fixed on by the students for the termination of their forbearance, when the government, intimidated by the formidable display made against it—though a single discharge of grape or charge of cavalry into the densely-thronged masses would have mowed down all opposition—yielded, and issued a proclamation revoking the order for the suppression of the committee, and directing that the Legislative Assembly should consist of one instead of two houses; granting, in short, all the points mentioned in the Storm Petition in the most ample and satisfactory manner.



Appeased by this proclamation, the students, National Guard, workmen, and citizens all retired quietly to their homes.

The next morning the entire ministry tendered their resignations to the emperor, as the events of the previous night fully demonstrated that the means under their control were so crippled as to enable them to furnish no support to the throne. At the request of his majesty, they consented, however, to retain their places until others could be selected.

Scarcely forty hours of quiet passed by, when the city was, on the morning of the 17th, again thrown into the utmost consternation by a proclamation of the ministry, advising the people that the emperor (with the imperial family) had left the capital the evening before, without affording them the slightest intimation of his intention.

On the 16th, his majesty and family had left the summer palace of Schönbrunn, about five o'clock in the afternoon, as if to take their usual drive, and, proceeding on the road to Innspruck, had not returned. The secrecy which attended the movement, and the stratagem resorted to, made the escape amount almost to a *flight*.* The cause of the emperor's departure at this time was generally believed to be intimidation, resulting from the late disorderly conduct of the students and rabble, together with his dislike at being surrounded by the Academical Legion and National Guard as his body-troops. He also cherished the hope that a short absence from the capital would tend to restore the citizens to order and subordination. But the experiment, at that time, in the excited and disordered state of the city, as well as during the rapid advance of republicanism throughout the Continent, was a most dangerous—indeed, a desperate one. The official journal, of the morning of the 17th of May, contained an article written on the evening previous, and before the departure of the emperor was generally known, in which, after commenting on the late demonstration in the city, and answering some rumors in

* The late concessions of the emperor having inflicted, as was supposed, a death-blow on the aristocracy (as it was to dispose of this class that the single Legislative Chamber and the change in the electoral law were required), as well as the example set by the court, produced a general flight among the nobility, no less than eighty families having left in one day, among them the Princes Litchtenstein and Schwartzenburg.



relation to his majesty's proposed departure from his capital, states: "The emperor has no more safe asylum than Vienna; nowhere will he be better guarded than by the faithful citizens of the capital; therefore we conjure him, and all those to whom the throne is precious, not to listen to the syren voice which would allure them from the home of their ancestors. Let us speak freely, for the time is past for tame words or half-way measures. The emperor's departure would be looked upon in the same light as the flight of Louis the Sixteenth; and the last day of his residence here would be the first day of the republic."

If the past affords any index of the future, if conduct furnishes any clew to motive, an observer of the events occurring about this time, in the Austrian capital, would unhesitatingly have declared that a republic would soon be proclaimed. Unwilling to rest longer under the despotism by which they were oppressed, the people had broken the proud crest of the monarch, and wrested from his hands the unlimited power which in one unbroken chain had descended to him from his fathers. Not satisfied with the provisions of the Constitution which he proposed to them, they had forced him to make alteration after alteration, until he had destroyed the aristocracy, the supporters of the throne, and completely crippled his own power. Not content with these, they had continued to persecute him until, for his own personal security, he was compelled to seek safety in flight. Self-government, and nothing less, it would seem, could gratify their wishes; and now, when all power in the ministry was annihilated, when the military were removed, when the emperor had fled, when, in short, all power was centred in their own hands, what did they do? Establish a provisional government? declare a republic? No. They were terrified and confounded at the vast accumulation of responsibility with which they had suddenly become burdened, and but one idea occupied their minds, and that was, how they could relieve themselves from the weight of this power, how they could procure the emperor's return. In bewildering excitement, they had wandered upon an unexplored path, and suddenly found themselves, as it were, on the very brink of a precipice, that yawned before them, the depths of which they

were unable to fathom, and whence they retreated in horror. All things in a moment took a retrograde movement. Every one who had the rashness to breathe the name of a republic was instantly seized and cast into prison. Under this charge about twenty persons were arrested, among them two females and eight editors of newspapers.*

The "Political Central Committee of the National Guard," the attempt to destroy which had induced the crisis, now dissolved of their own accord. The National Guard and Academical Legion, who had required that the regular military should be under them, now placed themselves under the military. The law regulating the press, and which the ministry were afraid to publish before, now appeared in the morning's print. The editor, who had written the spirited article of yesterday, makes an humble apology in the journal of to-day. The proclamations of the ministry against disorder, formerly not noticed at all, or, if noticed, simply to be destroyed, are now attentively read, and receive the universal and hearty approbation of the reader. In fact, the departure of the emperor, so sudden and unexpected, seemed to have roused all classes of the agitators from the dreams in which they indulged, and to have restored them again to the possession of their senses. The more prudent and sensible citizens now saw and felt that the masses were not sufficiently enlightened for self-government; the capitalists and landlords discovered that the removal of the court from Vienna would be the destruction of the city; while the students acknowledged that they lacked the power which they supposed they possessed over the more respectable and unofficious inhabitants; and all were consequently engaged and united in restoring order and maintaining the peace of the city.

But one idea seemed now to occupy the minds of the people, and that was the emperor's return. Deputation after deputation, from every class of the population and from both sexes,† were now dispatched upon this object to Innspruck.

* The author saw the crowd in Vienna dragging a man through the street, and crying, "To the lamp-post with him!" And, on inquiring what great offense he had committed, was told that "he had been conversing with a friend about a republic."

† One deputation of ladies, among them two princesses, who, it is said, went down on their knees to the empress.

Petitions, signed in one instance by more than eighty thousand of the inhabitants, expressive of the deep regret at the departure of the imperial family, earnestly invoking their immediate return, and avowing the most sincere attachment to his majesty and loyalty to his government, were dispatched from Vienna. The better class of citizens were, doubtless, honest in their demonstrations. They were peaceably disposed, lovers of order, and, as the best means of securing it, fervently desired the return of the emperor. They naturally hoped, also, that the ignorant masses and fanatical youth had learned wisdom by experience; and that, if the old order of things was restored, and the most requisite privileges retained, tranquillity would succeed. But this hope, rational as it was, proved a delusion. The baffled agitators gained fresh boldness from this interval of repose, and soon renewed their reckless schemes. The vulgarity and impudence of their attacks upon the Camarilla, the nobility, and the clergy, exceeded all former vituperation. It was the Camarilla, they alleged, that had carried off the emperor from his faithful subjects—it was the Camarilla, now at Innspruck, that would influence the court to reactionary measures; and they finally declared, that the Camarilla and nobility must first be destroyed before any enduring liberty could be expected.

So palpable a misrepresentation of the reasons which drove the emperor from his capital could impose on no intelligent and well-disposed citizen. It was evident that no intrigues or seductions were necessary to induce the emperor to leave Vienna. The cause of his departure was ascribable alone to the disgraceful events of the 15th of May, the folly and errors of which could not be denied. The emperor was deeply and justly grieved at the unkind and insolent manner in which these concessions had been obtained. He had become a slave in his opinions, and a prisoner in his palace. Where were these outrages to end? Who would say that the Storm Petition was to terminate the designs of the agitators, or whether a second would not soon be presented (and which is said to have been actually prepared, to demand the surrender of Italy and Poland)? And that a third would not soon have followed, if, by that time, such an one had been necessary, to require

the emperor to abandon his throne and country. It is evident, under such circumstances, that no efforts of a Camarilla were necessary to induce a feeble and timid monarch to relieve himself from such embarrassment by exchanging, temporarily, his residence to another of his capitals, and to one amid the romantic scenery of the Tyrol, and among a people for centuries distinguished, above all others of the empire, for unwavering loyalty and attachment to the house of Habsburg.

The tranquillity of the city was but brief. One week only of quiet was suffered to elapse, when a most hasty and injudicious proceeding on the part of the ministry produced a scene of far greater excitement than had been as yet witnessed in Vienna. Whether they were influenced by the favorable disposition of the people toward order recently manifested, or by the present indications of anarchy; whether, at length persuaded that it would be impossible to maintain the tranquillity of the city without it; or that, if not the most favorable, the present was the only time to effect it, is indeed questionable. On the 25th, however, the ill-advised order that the Academical Legion should be dissolved, and the university closed within twenty-four hours, and that, if resisted by the students, it should be enforced by the military, was promulgated. The students were on the same day addressed by their commander, Count Colloredo Mansfeld, who conjured them to lay down their arms, which they declined; and issued a placard, in which it was declared that the Academical Legion would under no circumstances dissolve; that, on the contrary, they considered it a holy duty to contribute as hitherto to the preservation of the constitutional acquisitions, and to co-operate in the maintenance of order and tranquillity. Although a great portion of the citizens perceived the destructive ends to which the course of the students tended, and, in consequence, warmly expressed their disapprobation; yet their influence was contravened by other manifestations of a different character, and that emboldened the students to adhere to their resolution. To add to their encouragement, the faubourg Wieden addressed the university a vote of thanks on account of its conduct on the 15th of May; and nearly all the companies of the National Guards of the suburbs of Schottenfeld, Gumpen

dorf, and Neudorf, dispatched deputies to the Aula* assuring it of their sympathies. The Guards of the ninth section, second company, issued summons to all National Guards not to abandon the students in that trying hour; and the temper of the people, a few days before apparently so tranquilly inclined and well disposed, had become already altogether changed. On the morning of the 26th, by order of the ministry, the regular military were called out at an early hour, and stationed at different points throughout the city, with a view, doubtless, of carrying the recent order into effect. At seven o'clock, Count Colloredo Mansfeld, at the head of a body of National Guards, appeared before the university, and summoned its inmates to surrender their arms, and to leave the institution. The students refused to obey. Subsequently, Count Montecuculli, the governor president, and General Sardagna, commander of the city, visited the university for the same purpose, and were attended with no better success; the students protesting against the order, and threatening to hold Montecuculli and Sardagna responsible for any blood that might be shed on the occasion. A battalion of the regular infantry were then advanced to the spot, and surrounded the building. The students, not intimidated by these demonstrations, saluted the troops with fraternal shouts as they appeared; and the mass of people, attracted to the spot by the noise, as well as by curiosity to witness the closing of the university, increasing from moment to moment, and impeding any operation of the troops, it was deemed advisable by the commanders that they should be withdrawn. The excitement increases, the *rappel* is beaten, the tocsin sounded, and thirty thousand workmen from the faubourgs, at the summons of the students, armed with axes, spades, and iron bars, rush to the spot; the city gates are occupied by the regular military, and partly closed; the laborers forcing their way through the *Rothenthurm* door, the military fire, and one man is killed, and several wounded. The report spreads like lightning through the city, the excitement becomes intense, and the construction of barricades, hitherto unseen in Vienna, commences. The alarm is beaten through the

* University.

streets, and every one summoned to arms to defend the threatened liberty; the mounted National Guard announces that the Academic Legion must be sustained; the workmen receive the news with enthusiasm, and prosecute their labor at the barricades.* The pavement of Vienna, beyond all comparison the most cleanly and beautiful of any city in Europe, composed of blocks of granite a foot square, is torn up; and with these stones, together with articles of furniture of every description, carts, and carriages, barricades are soon constructed through the whole interior city at all the intersections of the streets, and rising as high, in many places, as the second stories of the houses. In the course of a couple of hours, the inhabitants are completely blockaded in their own houses. The immense paving stones, carried to the upper stories, together with quantities of boiling water, are prepared, in case of an attack, to be thrown on the troops below. Where the paving stones were not employed in making barricades, every other stone was torn up and placed on the one which remained stationary, making a succession of pitfalls, or such an uneven surface as totally to obstruct the movement of cavalry.

It was terrible to behold a city in the process of transformation from the abode of peace, the mart of trade, or the seat of pleasure, into a fortress and battle-field. It was impressive to watch the excited faces and brawny arms of the workmen, as, with pick-axes, they ripped up the substantial pavement, and tore down the railings and wood-work, while the women conveyed these materials to the rising barricade. In some places, where these barricades were completed, covered with mattresses, behind which the combatants were to crouch as they fired upon the charging troops, students in their grotesque uniforms addressed the populace, and inveighed against the Camarilla and their reactionary measures; while over them waved either the red or black flag, those certain emblems of blood and death.† While these events were trans-

* In the houses behind the barricades well-dressed females engaged in arranging the paving stones; others engaged in addressing the people, and encouraging them to action; while others carry baskets of bread and wine to those who defend the barricades.

† On a sign-board at the university is written, "What we demand. The garri-

piring, the soldiers were withdrawn to the public squares, and there awaited, with loaded arms and burning impatience, the order to charge the barricades. During the whole morning a desperate conflict was momentarily expected; for it was not supposed that the ministry, however weak and wavering their previous conduct had proved them, could have been guilty of so gross an absurdity as to have issued an order without knowing whether they possessed either the moral or physical courage necessary to carry it into effect; but such, however irreconcilable with our ideas of good sense, and particularly with the caution and prudence peculiar to the German character, was nevertheless the case. If order and tranquillity were to be restored to the city, the measure determined on, to disarm the Academical Legion, had become absolutely necessary (in fact, it was the grossest error, in the first instance, ever to have furnished with arms a large body of undisciplined and agitated students, who needed no other supply than proper books). The slight preparation made by the ministry, however, for effecting their object, together with their base timidity, will ever be a matter of severe and unqualified reproach.

The manifestations on the part of the students, National Guard, and mob, toward noon, became so threatening that the intimidated ministry issued a proclamation revoking the order of the previous day for disarming the students and closing the university, and directing the immediate withdrawal of all the regular troops from the city. The proud Roman legions, stripped of their arms, and almost of their clothing, and forced by the Samnites to pass under the yoke at the Caudine Forks, could not have felt more chagrin than did those brave troops, compelled now, for a third time, to march out and leave the city to a party of insolent youths and unarmed workmen. It was enough to have broken the spirit of any soldiers; and they did, unanimously and immediately, petition the ministry to be removed to some other field of action.

As soon as the news that the ministry had yielded was conveyed by guards to the barricades, the students in command received the intelligence with scorn; and, seizing the procla-

son shall leave the town within twenty-four hours, and the ministry shall guarantee the acquisitions of the 16th of May.



mation of the government, they tore it to pieces before the assembled crowds, contemptuously trampling its fragments under foot. About two o'clock the House of Judicature, on the *Hohen Markt*, was stormed by the students, because one of their speakers had been arrested, and was confined in the building. All the windows were demolished, the iron railings torn down, and the statue of Justice, ornamenting the front, mutilated The building was finally entered, the guard of security disarmed, and compelled to leave under the most violent threats. Those who, on the 18th of May, had been incarcerated for breathing the word "republic," and some of whom had, in the interim, undergone trial, and been sentenced for years to imprisonment in fortresses, were now relieved, and, like martyrs in a great cause, paraded in triumph through the city.

But at this point the difficulty was far from being at an end. The students, as was quite natural, availing themselves of the advantage they had acquired, thought it had now come to their turn to demand, and required that the concessions granted them on the 15th of March and 15th of May, and which they chose to think the government, by the late movements, were disposed to take away, should be reassured to them; that the regular troops should all be confined to their respective barracks; that the entire control of the city and of its gates should be surrendered into their hands; and that the *ouvriers* should be furnished with work; all of which the ministry, by several proclamations, which appeared during the afternoon, fully conceded.

Although it was evident that nothing was to be feared from the military, the alarming report was repeatedly raised during the afternoon that regiments were advancing to storm the barricades, and bodies of workmen and National Guards were dispatched to the Northern Rail-road and to the bridges over the Danube, to repel Prince Windischgrätz, who, it was said, advanced with four companies against the city.

During the whole night, the students, National Guard, and workmen remained upon the barricades. Fires were made in the middle of the streets; students with their Calabrian hat and feathers, National Guards with their helmeted caps, *ouvriers* without coats, and peasant women without bonnets,

seated on paving stones around the bright blaze, indulged in coarse jokes and laughter, or in songs.

It was a strange and painful sight to see these camps in the heart of a city; yet the motley groups by the dusky light of the watch-fires, with the houses high and dark for a background, were picturesque in the extreme.

About midnight, a rumor being circulated that Prince Windischgrätz was actually approaching with a large military force to retake the city, the alarm became excessive. The tocsin was again sounded, guns were fired, the inhabitants aroused from their beds, and forced, even before they were dressed, to commence work and engage in taking up into the third and fourth stories quantities of the immense paving stones, to be thrown upon the heads of the invaders. A great destruction of property ensued, by tearing down columns and wrenching out iron railings to strengthen the barricades and furnish arms to the mob. These acts of violence caused great damage to the city, and terror among the inhabitants; and, after all the mischief had been accomplished, the alarm, as was discovered, proceeded from a band of students arriving by steamer from Pressburg, who had come simply to join their comrades of the barricades, and to participate in the exciting scenes which they had learned were transpiring in Vienna. The next day a document appeared, signed by the ministry, and confiding to the charge of the students and National Guard, all the property of the government, the public institutions, the safety of the inhabitants, and the tranquillity of the city. They, of course, readily undertook the charge; but immediately demanded cannon for the better execution of the important trust with which they had been invested. The ministry did not hesitate, but complied at once with the demand, and even made the delivery of the twelve cannons which they consigned to the students an occasion of pomp and ceremony. The guns were covered with garlands of roses, and were received by the students, paraded as important trophies through the streets, and then deposited very carefully, subject to their control, in the Civic Arsenal. This was an inexplicable act certainly, on the part of men who had not notoriously lost either their wits or their virtue—to commit the government property with which

they were intrusted into the hands of those whose sole objects had been to wrest it from them—to intrust the safety of the inhabitants and the tranquillity of the city to those by whom alone the former had been endangered or the latter disturbed!

History nowhere affords so striking an example of reckless confidence; or was it a piece of unheard-of magnanimity, a master-stroke of policy, to surrender every thing into the hands of the enemy, make a virtue of necessity, yield with grace what could not be retained, and look to implacable foes for mercy?*

The empire of Austria, shaken to its foundation by the Revolution of March, had now reached the second act in the eventful drama of its political regeneration. The time had arrived when the promises, vouchsafed by the sovereign in the hour of alarm and danger, were to be fulfilled, and the concessions so obtained to be finally accepted by the people. The time had arrived when the temporary connection between the friends of free government and the enemies of all government had to be dissolved, if the results of the Revolution were ever to assume the shape of regular institutions and established laws. The time, in short, had arrived when a reaction must take place, not in favor of the old and extinct order of things, but in favor of real freedom, and against anarchy. Upon the issue of this struggle the fate of Austria now depended. The imperial government, at the outset, had been surprised and overcome, and now lay prostrate, paralyzed, and incapable, for the moment, of any action whatever. That authority was now as entirely removed from the scene of action as though it had never been in existence; and the struggle was to take place between the friends of rational liberty on the one hand, and

* The proclamation[1] of the ministry, dated the 27th of May, is the most extraordinary document that was ever signed. The ministry surrender Count Hoyos to the students, as a guarantee for the concessions of the emperor, on the 15th and 16th of May. What, we may inquire, in the name of common sense, had Count Hoyos to do with the emperor or his concessions? If any one should have guaranteed the concessions of the emperor, it was surely the ministry, who alone had the power of regulating affairs. In the next place, the ministry say that those who caused the disturbances of the 26th of May should be brought to trial. Who caused those disturbances but the ministry themselves, by their order for closing the university?

[1] Wiener Zeitung.

the anarchists on the other. Should the former prevail, there was reason to hope that the first united and legitimate effort would not be in vain; and that the concessions in the cause of freedom and governmental reform, which they had obtained, would be carried out in good faith, and result in the liberation and prosperity of their country; but, on the other hand, were the supporters of anarchy to succeed, there was no alternative for the people but to submit, for a time, to that most unreasonable, exacting, and cruel of tyrants, a tyrant mob; until the former government, aroused to its self-possession by the atrocities of the rabble, should interfere, and, in so doing, crush the liberty which had been gained, and restore the former institutions.

As soon as they were installed in power, the students resolved that the emperor should either return himself to Vienna, or send in his place one of the royal princes; and a deputation was forthwith dispatched to Innspruck for the delivery of the message. Orders were then issued for the arrest of all those who had been instrumental in introducing the troops into the city on the 26th of May.

Count Hoyos, the former commander of the National Guard, who had just returned from Innspruck, whither he had been sent by the ministry in quest of the emperor, was taken; and Count Maurice Ditchrichstein, the imperial chamberlain, one of the most inoffensive and worthy gentlemen of the city, was seized in his palace, at night, and dragged to the university, where they were both imprisoned for several days; but when it was discovered that they had no knowledge of the introduction of the troops into the city, they were discharged.

Count Colloredo Mansfeld, the former popular commander of the Academic Legion; Count Montecuculli, the liberal Landmarshal, or presiding officer of the Diet, on whom their hopes so strongly rested on the 13th of March; and Count Breüner, the great supporter of the petition in the Diet, and who was subsequently the bearer of it to his majesty, and its bold advocate in the imperial presence, fled from Vienna to escape the arrests, as well as summary vengeance with which they were now threatened.

Even their own two favorite and most liberal professors,

they who had acted on all their deputations to the court, and who with them were the first to seize arms in defense of liberty, one escaped arrest by flight; the other, after enduring imprisonment for some time, was, by strong intercessions in his behalf, released. These individuals, who, six weeks previous, were regarded, even by the students themselves, as the most liberal men of their class, as men attached to real progress, were now denounced as traitors.

The students, proceeding with youthful rapidity, had found themselves far in advance of their cautious professors. The latter, it was declared, did not keep up with the age; they had become too conservative, and they were seized and tried for no offense in the world, except that they had not kept pace in extravagance and crime with the warm blood and light heads of their pupils. Time moved rapidly, and a few days was quite sufficient to convert Liberals into either Radicals or Conservatives. It seemed impossible to stand still, and it was therefore necessary either to advance or retrograde. The most formidable enemies of the new liberal Constitution were those who, but a few weeks before, were its most strenuous partisans; for they were the first to denounce the very concessions which they had been the first to demand.

To the Liberals, or friends of free government, there was now a double conflict opened: first, that of the people against the old form of government; secondly, that of the new form of government against the Radicals, or enemies of all government.

It was greatly to be feared that they would not justly appreciate the delicate situation in which they were then placed; that they would see only the single conflict between the old form of government and the Radicals, and between the choice of evils, select the former as the least; on the principle that a bad government was preferable to no government at all.

After these extraordinary proceedings, it was not to be wondered at that the disorders and disturbances increased in the city. The ministry having become tools of the mob, the Liberals or friends of good government offering no resistance, and every one who could, escaping as rapidly as possible, for fear of becoming a victim, Vienna was given up to perfect anarchy. Meetings were held to consider the propriety of making

landlords diminish the rents of houses, and to determine that the proper time of payment was subsequent, and not, as formerly, previous to occupation. Processions of workmen promenaded the streets, striking for wages, and determined not to work until assurances were received that their pay would be increased and hours of labor diminished; requisitions fatal to contractors, and a serious inconvenience to builders.

The tailors held a great assembly; the grievance to be remedied with them was that the women had appropriated certain work, such as making ladies' habits and mantillas, which they asserted belonged more properly to them.* Breaking into the establishment of the most fashionable French milliner in the city, they destroyed the greater part of her goods and carried off the remainder.

Two offices or booths, erected on the glacis for the purpose of receiving enrollments for the army of Italy, openly and at mid-day were attacked by the mob, and torn to pieces in the presence of the National Guard, who made no attempt at interference; the object being to prevent the departure of any able-bodied men from the city at that time.

The students established among themselves a legion known as the Death's-head Legion, and bearing on their caps, as emblematic ornaments, a skull and cross-bones; and boys of fourteen and sixteen years, with such devices to their Calabrian hats, exhibited their enthusiasm for liberty, and expressed their determination neither to yield or accept pardon in the struggle for it. No one could now walk the streets of Vienna without the fear of injury. Every where appeared placards of menace and violence. It was quite usual for creditors to penetrate the houses of their debtors, insulting them when unwilling or unable to respond to their unreasonable demands. Any one who disapproved of such disorders was visited with summary vengeance; and if one desired to gratify his long-indulged hate, it was only necessary to hint to the mob that the unhappy victim had expressed a sentiment or performed an act favorable to order or good government. There was no personal security, for any well-attired individual was liable to in-

* In Vienna ladies' dresses are always made by men—*Damen Schneidern*, as they are called.

sult while quietly promenading the streets. Every one dreaded what the next day might develop, and despondency increased from hour to hour throughout the city. In this exigency, the police acknowledged its inefficiency; the National Guard shrugged their shoulders; and the ministry, terror-stricken, sought refuge either in flight or obscurity, upon the first symptoms of danger.

In such a condition of affairs national bankruptcy and individual ruin seemed inevitable. The government was obliged to borrow large sums of money, mortgaging the valuable salt mines of Gmünden as security, and this was chiefly expended in useless works of internal improvements, to give employment to the people. The aristocracy were ruined by the repudiation of the labor and tithes formerly yielded by the peasantry; merchants could effect no sales, for there was no money wherewith to make purchases.

Even freedom of the press, to obtain which was a principal object of the previous agitation, now existed no longer; for no one dared to publish any thing reflecting, in the slightest degree, upon the patriotism, wisdom, or moderation of the students. Although it was the unanimous wish of the middle classes to free the community of the students, who were the primary cause of the existent difficulties, a petition to that effect, extensively circulated, was not signed by six individuals, such was the alarm which the young fanatics inspired. The programme adopted by the extreme left at the Diet at Frankfort now became known, and this was to form in Germany a great confederation of republican states; and the partisans of this object in Vienna now urged upon Austria to join the league.

For this purpose, German ribbons were only worn, and German patriotic songs alone sung; Radical papers even dated their news, not from Vienna, but from "the United States of Germany." The question of an Austrian monarchy no longer existed. It was universally said that the Constituent Assembly would determine a form of government for Austria; and it was openly suggested that certain rights should be permitted, and others taken from, the emperor.* It was no longer allowed to speak of the privileges of the crown and of the monarch. It

* The *Radical*.

was only the sovereign people to whom remained any rights whatever.

To hint at the compatibility of the public desires with the rights of the crown was an insult to the sovereign people. By the clubs, the Democratic meetings, and the Radical press, the population were constantly imbued with these views.

Schütte, the agitator, admits, in his journal since published, that the object of the Democratic leaders at Vienna was the establishment of a republic.

"What Paris," he says, "had employed some tens of years to accomplish, the people of Vienna thought to obtain in a few months, and then to be able proudly to proclaim, 'Behold, the Viennese are the leading free people of the world; in one year they have overthrown absolute monarchy, obtained a constitutional monarchy, and gloriously won a republic.'" The Radical party, although at this time possessed of full power, so far as the city of Vienna was concerned, to carry their desires and intentions into effect, did not entertain this purpose, or consider it advisable to urge things to extremities; their policy seemed rather to await the action of the Central Diet at Frankfort, to keep affairs at Vienna in the same unsettled and disordered state, and to be ready to adopt any plan that might be proposed by the central power.

Alarmed by the critical situation of his capital, the emperor, by a manifesto, bearing date the 16th of June, appointed the Archduke John as his representative in opening the Diet, and in the other affairs of government. On the 24th, the archduke, a favorite with the people of the empire (not only on account of the gentleness and suavity of his demeanor, but from his unostentatious manner of life, and particularly on account of his having married, not among the courts, but among the people),* arrived in Vienna.

He was most cordially received, and all parties expressed their high respect for him. At two o'clock at night, a grand torch-light procession took place in honor of him, and thousands of citizens, National Guards, and students, exhibited the utmost enthusiasm in his favor. On the next morning, he received, in the name of the emperor, the ministry, the National

* He married the daughter of a country postmaster.



Guard, the garrison, the magistrates, committees of security, and the municipality.

This was by far the most judicious move that the emperor could have made, as, owing to his universal popularity, the Archduke John was more likely to exact obedience than any other member of the imperial family. The Committee of Students and National Guard, who had assumed all authority in the city, proposed to the archduke, it was said, to relinquish all their powers; but he committed the great error of saying to them, that, *as they had been enabled to preserve order in the city* for some weeks past, they might still retain their stations, until other arrangements could be made by the Assembly which was shortly to convene in Vienna.

The assembly or convention for the formation of the Constitution, the convocation of which had been fixed for the 26th of June, had not as yet taken place, owing to a delay in the elections, which were still proceeding in some of the provinces. Many deputies, however, from those portions of the empire where the elections had already occurred, had reached Vienna, viz., from Galicia, Croatia, and other Slavonian provinces; and, of about sixty who had made their appearance, not one spoke or understood a word of German. Notwithstanding all the assurances of loyalty, attachment, and devotedness to the crown, which exhibited itself on the appearance of the Archduke John, the efforts of the agitators were continued with daily increasing zeal.

On the 24th, the very day of the archduke's arrival, discussions were opened in the Radical papers upon the question, whether, after the events of the months of March and May, the emperor should bear the title, "By the grace of God."*

On the 29th the archduke was elected, by the National Assembly of Frankfort, as Regent of the German empire, and a deputation immediately dispatched by that body to Vienna to inform his imperial highness of his election, and to request his acceptance of the station. The deputation arrived in Vienna on the 4th of July, and was received on the 5th by the archduke in solemn audience. Upon the proposal of the deputation, the archduke declared himself ready to accept the offered

* *Demokrat.*

dignity. The Regent of the Empire appeared on the balcony of the palace, hand-in-hand with the deputation, and there addressed the assembled crowd in a brief but animated speech, which was received with great enthusiasm; the firing of cannon, playing the German national hymn, and shouts of an excited populace continued; while the diplomatic corps, the ministry, and the National Guard, tendered their felicitations. Although it must have been gratifying to the hearts of the Viennese to witness the honor conferred on a member of the imperial house, yet the appointment of the Archduke John at that time, when he had just undertaken a similar task in Austria, and when he was the only man who inspired confidence, was particularly unfortunate for the empire. Serenades and torch-light processions concluded, on that night, the ceremonies in honor of the deputies, the archduke, and the occasion.

As indicative of the public feeling abroad at this time in Germany, it may not be unimportant to notice the proceedings of a visit, paid the next day, by two of the deputies to the university. After an address made them by one of the most self-important of the youths, and which was strongly tinctured with Republicanism, Hecksher replied, that he was from Hamburg, and a Republican himself, but that he was fully persuaded that the German people were not yet prepared for a republic, and that it could not be introduced without anarchy and bloodshed; that he, consequently, had taken his seat on the *right* side at Frankfort. After this rebuff to the young Republicans of the Aula, Hecksher adroitly returned to the German question, declaring his willingness to make any sacrifice for the liberty of Germany; and finally concluded his remarks by reminding the audience, that he, too, had shouldered his musket, and battled against the tyranny of Napoleon; but that, the conflict over, he had returned again to his studies. "Therefore," said he, "I take the liberty to remind you, my dear young friends, that you may now more properly continue your exploits upon the field of science." Such wholesome advice was not relished by the students, in fact, would have been altogether unendurable, had it not been followed by a speech from the Radical deputy, Raveaux, who was attached to the *extreme left* of the Frankfort Assembly. He directed

the attention of the students to the fact, that the commission of the Archduke John contained neither the words "inviolable," nor "by the grace of God;" that the latter expression in connection with sovereigns was obsolete, and that the people alone were "by the grace of God;" and that Archduke John (or, as he would rather say, citizen John) had also adopted these principles.

It was a great gratification, indeed, a triumph to the Radicals, to use or listen to such language with impunity then, which indulgence in less than six months previously would have cost them their heads.

About this time the excitement against Baron Pillersdorf, Minister of the Interior, became very great. He was the object of attack in all the papers, and his withdrawal from the ministry vehemently demanded. Reports of revolutionary outbreaks in contemplation were diligently disseminated. The "Democratic Union," which now began to exhibit itself more confidently than ever, dispatched a deputation to the archduke, demanding the immediate dismissal of Pillersdorf. The Committee of Security did the same. Pillersdorf, notwithstanding he had been a pliant tool through whom they had effected much mischief, was not, in all respects, satisfactory to the Radicals, or fitted, perhaps for the ends which they then had in contemplation. The Committee of Students, headed by M. Fraulich, addressed the archduke, after which he replied: "I am an old Austrian—an old German. I wish to dedicate the last days of my life to the good of my country. My intentions are good. He who directs the destinies of the universe will judge me. You, my young friends of the university, have done much; act for the general interest; I have the utmost confidence in you." These remarks alone, if other and abundant proof were not at hand, show that the Archduke John was not the man for the crisis.*

On the 8th of July, Baron Pillersdorf surrendered his portfolio into the hands of his imperial highness, the representa-

* On the same evening, the archduke (in company with the deputation) took his departure for Frankfort, after having issued a proclamation announcing his intention to return by the 19th instant, to represent the emperor at the opening of the Diet.

tive of the emperor. His resignation was accepted, and Baron Dobblhof was charged with the formation of a new ministry.* By this step the Radical party made an important advance.

Owing to the inexperience of the people in the conduct of elections, together with the indolence manifested on the occasion, the Radical party, by their stratagems and zeal, succeeded in electing to the Assembly some of the most violent Revolutionists; who, with their adherents, formed the left side of the Austrian Diet, and who sanctioned, if they did not instigate, the dreadful occurrences of the 6th of October.

On the 17th of July, the Archduke John, in conformity with his promise, returned to Vienna, in order to officiate, in place of the emperor, at the opening of the Diet. On the 19th was published, in the official gazette, a list of the new ministry, which did not, however, meet the general approbation. Particular objections were made to the Minister of Public Works. His character, together with the manner in which he had procured his nomination, were by no means satisfactory. And even the appointment of Dobblhof, demanded as it was by the "Democratic Union" and the "Committee of Security," rested under a cloud of suspicion; but, the most incomprehensible part of the transaction was, that the archduke, in the dissolution of the old ministry, should have thought proper to yield obedience to such a demand, and from such a source. Such a ministry could not be otherwise than suspicious. A ministry under a constitutional, as well as a republican government, should be formed in accordance with the public will; but the mistake committed here, throughout the entire struggle, was that of considering a mere faction the people. And that this faction was flattered, instead of being opposed; courted, instead of being suppressed, was the error committed both by Pillersdorf and Dobblhof—the rock upon which both their administrations were wrecked.

To continue the excitement, a deputation now arrived from Paris, bringing a flag and an address of thanks to the students of Vienna. Warm debates took place in the sessions of

* For a list of the Austrian ministry during the years 1848 and 1849, and which, in point of numbers, exceeded any thing before known, see Appendix, Note 5.

the Committee of Security, upon the question whether, now that the Diet was about to commence its sittings, the committee should or should not be dissolved. That such a self-constituted and revolutionary body should exist in opposition to the legally-elected and regularly-constituted Diet would not admit of a moment's doubt, even had it not been so expressly determined at its installation. It was evident, therefore, that all the debates were instituted with no other object than to impose on the people, produce an excitement in their favor, and thus prolong their authority; and this object was attained.

The Baroness Brandhof, the wife of the Archduke John, and born neither of imperial, royal, or even noble parents, but belonging originally to the ranks of the people, arrived, on the 18th, in Vienna. The occasion was improved by the Radicals to indulge in great ceremonies and festivals in her honor; to make to her addresses, welcoming her as a sister who, "amid a poisoned atmosphere, had preserved a simple, honest mind," etc. To such a degree had their impudence on the one hand, and stupidity on the other, increased, that such insults, in the very face of the archduke, to whom so much devotedness and attachment had been feigned, were received with acclamations by the crowd. No occasion, indeed, was ever lost to undermine the court in the minds of the people.

About this time the first meeting took place of the Union of Journeymen and Workmen, established by the Democratic Union, to promote the corruption of that class, and to instill into them the principles of communism.

On the 22d of July, the opening of the Constituent Assembly took place, under the auspices of the Archduke John, empowered by the emperor to represent him on that occasion.

The powerful element which formed the left side of the house, excited already from the commencement dread in the minds of the more prudent citizens, as to the influence which that party would one day exercise. These forebodings were but too soon justified.

The address delivered by his highness on the occasion was appropriate and interesting, so far as it touched cursorily upon the affairs of the government; the desire of the emperor for the full equality of rights to all the nations of the empire, and

their voluntary annexation with Germany, as well as the intention of the government to conduct with vigor the war in Italy, and to look only to the force of arms for an honorable peace.

The first days of the session were appropriately enough devoted to an examination of the election returns of the members, and deliberations upon the subject of rules for the government of the Assembly; but their entire ignorance of all parliamentary proceedings was extremely ridiculous.

Not a week had expired after they met before operations were commenced to entrap the right side. By a concert of action between the left side and those revolutionary bodies of the city, the Democratic Union and the Committee of Security—in fact, the most violent members of the left side were also members of those associations—an invitation was addressed to the Diet to join in a funeral ceremony, to take place in honor of those who had fallen in the March Revolution; and, without suspicion of the design, the invitation was accepted by the Diet with applause. The municipality, the dignities of the university, all the various committees, and 40,000 National Guards, in all upward of 100,000 persons, took part in the ceremonies which were conducted with great pomp. They purported to be merely the religious service of mass for the souls of the fallen; but, in truth, were a political maneuver of great depth, to obtain not only a confirmation of the legal existence of the "Revolutionary Committee of Security," but to compromise the Diet, and to force its members to recognize the principles contended for on that occasion, and in this way to sanction all the acts of lawless violence since committed as legitimate parts of one and the same transaction.

The ministers Dobblhof, Bach, Hornbostel, and Kraus, were present in the uniform of the National Guard; whether they were honest dupes, or *participes criminis*, it would be a waste of labor to ascertain.

As the Archduke John was now obliged to leave Vienna for a length of time, the return of the emperor became not only a matter of importance, but of loud and animated discussion. All classes seemed to unite in one desire for his return, although the motives which actuated them were, doubtless,

widely different. The well-disposed, influenced by sincere loyalty to the throne and dynasty, desired it from the hopes which they entertained that the imperial presence would tend to tranquilize the public mind, and restore life, prosperity, and happiness to the city. But those who drove him off, desired him back that they might obtain more concessions, or subject him to further humiliations; while they felt confident that such a "petrified effigy of extinct authority" could not, in the slightest degree, defeat their plans or embarrass their operations.

As the deputations previously sent to the emperor had been unsuccessful in procuring his return, a new deputation, of one member from each of the provinces, was appointed by the Diet to bear him an address.

An address was prepared, in which it was stated that not only the interests of the empire required his presence at the capital, but that the fate of the dynasty depended on it. This address was considered too tame to suit the views of the Radical party, and they sought to introduce into it the word "*demand*," in connection with the emperor's return. Count Stadion, of the right side, proposed as a substitute the word "*entreat*," when he was hissed by a great portion of the House. The former, after a stormy debate, was accordingly introduced, and, as one deputy remarked in his speech, it was the only word in the address that came up to his ideas, and met his approbation.

The Democratic monarchy (*Democratische Monarchie*), however absurd and contradictory the expression, became now the watch-word. A throne, with democratic institutions upon the widest basis; clearly defined, in other words, a republic with a hereditary president—with an imperial title, but without imperial rights. The word *republic* was studiously avoided, while the institution itself was most clearly recognized.

The session of the Diet of the 29th of July was remarkable for developing the boldness of the Radicals. One deputy expressed himself favorable to the return of the emperor, but stated that he was to be warned of the danger of irresponsible counselors. The Revolution has been acknowledged; therefore, the National Guard must constitute the guards of the throne, and the Committee of Public Security must be sustain-

ed. Another member, with the insolent arrogance peculiar to him, arose and said, "I rise in the name of the aggrieved Austrian people—the people who have exhibited an attachment unparalleled in history; who have shown a patience, during those intrigues by which the emperor has been carried off, never before manifested; who have sent deputation after deputation to Innspruck, begging him to return. I declare there will be a time when people will cease to beg. Had they but spoken more energetically at first, we would not be obliged to-day to use such language. The people are deeply afflicted by the mortification they have suffered. Had such an occurrence happened to another nation, what would have become of the dynasty? Look to the history of Charles the First, James the Second, Louis the Sixteenth!"

To continue the excitement, and keep up the tumults, constant spectacles, processions, consecrations of flags, festivities of fraternity, reception and dispatch of deputies between the provincial towns and the capital, to present reciprocal sympathies, daily took place. The increasing frantic tendencies of the Democratic and other unions, the noise of the placard and newspaper sellers during the day, and *charivaris** at night, not unfrequently accompanied with destruction of property—excesses against which the most earnest representations were made by the ministry, but to no effect—increased the agitation.

Such events had produced a sad change in Vienna. The ancient splendor of the imperial city passed away. All the style and magnificence of the court and of the nobility disappeared. From twenty to thirty millions of florins withdrawn from circulation, injuriously affected all trades and professions. Commerce and manufactures were crippled, and poverty prevailed to a most threatening degree. The old serenity and joyfulness of Vienna were supplanted by the riotous festivities of the students and National Guard. At all the public places they took the lead, with revolting arrogance, and banished all true enjoyment. A demon of discord separated families, interrupted the friendships of years, and spread distrust among all classes of the population. Instead of the wealthy and respectable stranger, once attracted to the city by its gayety and

* Mock serenades.

splendor; adventurers, agitators, demagogues, in short, the rabble from all parts of the monarchy and the Continent, rushed to Vienna to re-enforce the ranks of their comrades. Instead of the well-dressed persons that usually thronged the streets, beggars of every description, suspicious-looking figures, never before seen, met the eye at every turn. Among the male population, scarcely a civil costume was to be seen. Every one wore a military uniform or Calabrian hat. During the whole day an uninterrupted sound of the clanking of long swords upon the stone pavement was audible, while a great many of the creatures to whom they were attached seemed themselves rather appendages to the unmanageable sabre.

Every one felt that the tide of revolution was on the rise. Every one saw that the ministry, so far from raising a dam to stop the angry current, themselves joyfully plunged in and were swept away by a torrent that they could not stem. In the minds of all prudent and reflecting persons, the conviction was irresistible that such a state of things could only be of short duration, and that there was no other end than in some dread catastrophe.

Not a day, in these excited times, passed without being marked by a ceremony for which all the daily pursuits of life were abandoned, and the people only craved excitement, which had now become as necessary to their moral, as food to their corporeal existence. The 6th of August was distinguished by the ceremony of the adoption of the German colors, by the German regiments at Vienna, in obedience to the decree of the Frankfort Diet. By an order of the 16th of July, the Minister of War of the German empire notified the ministers of war of the various German nations, that the Archduke John, elected Regent of the Empire, had taken command of all the armed power of Germany, and that accordingly they were required to parade all troops of the German Confederation attached to their respective garrisons on Sunday, the 6th of August, to announce to them, by the reading of the proclamation, that fact, and to order, as an expression of homage, three cheers for the Regent of the Empire; and, when circumstances would permit, to be accompanied by three salutes; and from that day, all troops, where it had not already been done, should



adopt the German colors, by wearing the German cockade in their caps, and the German ribbons on their flags.

The deputation dispatched by the Diet to the emperor had an interview with his majesty at Innspruck, on the 5th of August; and, upon their presentation of the address, the emperor said, "I am glad to receive the deputies of the Constituent Diet. Anxious only for the welfare of my states, I will, under the circumstances mentioned, comply with the request contained in the address you bear me, and return among you. As my health is not yet fully re-established, I shall not be able to commence my journey before the 8th of the present month, when I shall return to my faithful Austrians. I am happy to receive the assurances of your loyal dispositions."

On the day last mentioned, agreeably to advices received, a proclamation was issued by the ministry of Vienna, informing the inhabitants of the capital that their "most beloved emperor" would arrive in Vienna on the 12th of August, by the steamer from Linz, accompanied by her majesty the empress, and his imperial highness the Archduke Francis Charles, and his son the Archduke Francis Joseph. That the other members of the high court at Innspruck, viz., her imperial highness the Archduchess Sophia and family, would arrive one day later; and that the Minister of the Interior hastened to bring to the public knowledge this highly agreeable intelligence.*

The joyful news of the emperor's intended return having rapidly spread through the city, all minds became immediately occupied in preparations for his reception. At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, the commission of the commune, deputations of magistrates from the university, the garrison, and several public bodies, started by steamer for Stein, about forty miles up the Danube, in order to meet their majesties, who arrived there at noon, and were received with great respect. The deputations, with M. Dobblhof, Minister of the Interior, at their head, were presented to the emperor, and congratulatory speeches delivered, expressing sentiments of profound devotedness to the emperor and to the constitutional monarchy. The emperor replied in suitable terms, and frequently declared that he was

* Wiener Zeitung.

delighted to return to Vienna. Having reached Nussdorf (the landing-place of the steamers from the Upper Danube), their majesties were greeted by the acclamations of the assembled people, and passed to their carriages through rows of young girls tastefully dressed, who strewed their path with flowers. At several points triumphal arches were erected, through which the imperial family drove, where a number of children were stationed with branches of olive and bouquets of flowers. The National Guard were assembled with their muskets decorated with flowers. Houses were dressed out with flags and garlands. On the Place of St. Stephen, the emperor was received by the ministry, the staff, and detachments of the Hungarian and Italian Noble Guards. A *Te Deum* was performed in the cathedral, in the presence of the court and the National Assembly. The emperor and empress subsequently proceeded to the palace amid an immense assemblage, while the balconies of every house were occupied by ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs and scattered flowers. At the palace, the public authorities, and many members of the National Assembly, were in waiting; and there an address was made the emperor, by Dr. Smidt, President of the Diet, who, in the name of the National Assembly, and in the name of all the free people represented by it, greeted with loyalty his majesty's return to the palace of his ancestors. In short, all the preparations and arrangements made, to give a joyous welcome to the imperial family, were carried out with that exquisite taste peculiar to the people of Vienna; while the joy and enthusiasm on the occasion were unbounded.

Although the disappearance of the emperor from his capital, in the secrecy with which it was effected, bore a strong resemblance to the departure of Louis the Sixteenth from Paris, yet his return presented the most striking contrast to that of the unfortunate French monarch, detected by the likeness on his own coin, and, brought back a prisoner under a guard of the Assembly, treated with the utmost contumely, the crowds who flocked to see him as he passed, heaping upon himself and family every sort of indignity and insult. Whereas, with the Austrian monarch, from Nussdorf to Vienna, and through the city to Schönbrunn, the summer palace, a distance of not les

than six miles, by the road he passed, there was but one uninterrupted and solid wall of happy beings. On either side stands had been erected, and rented at enormous rates, and there the people patiently waited, under a scorching August sun, from early morning until evening, for the momentary gratification of a single glance at the dear monarch whom, only six weeks before, their conduct had driven from his capital and his throne. The day succeeding that of the emperor's return to Vienna, he issued a proclamation to the citizens, characterized by judgment and taste, expressing gratification at their reception, and the hope that peace and unanimity would now prevail, and trusting that, in conjunction with his ministers, the Diet might be enabled to carry on to completion the Constitution of the empire.

Notwithstanding these joyous manifestations, the satisfaction, which appeared every where on the surface, was of little depth. The students, to counteract the pacific and salutary effects which the emperor's return to the city, or that of the news of the victorious entry of the imperial troops into Milan, which had just arrived, were calculated to produce, seemed to redouble their energies in the exercise of that injurious influence which they held over the capital. To the aid of their cause, the notorious Schütte, who, on account of his baneful activity, as has been seen, was expelled from the city in the spring, again appeared, and was most joyfully welcomed by his partisans of the university. Having, in the interim, traversed Germany in the service of the Propaganda, and met with many adventures, he returned now to communicate the result of his labors, and to stir up the Radicals of Vienna to increased activity; while the ministry, as inefficient as their predecessors, dared not, in opposition to the university, take any steps for his removal or the prevention of disturbance. Every day he delivered one of his inflammatory addresses, some of which are too characteristic of the times—too expressive of the history of the period, to be omitted.

On the 17th of August, in the Aula, before a crowded audience, Dr. Schütte arose and said: "Carried off three months ago, I return once more among you. Having traveled over the whole of Europe, I am familiar with the general political con-

dition of all countries; and I return now with the strong conviction that Vienna is the greatest city of liberty. Vienna has accomplished things never before done in France, in Belgium, or any where else. In Paris, the press is far more restrained. In Frankfort, the number of those who keep to the side of freedom is small, and therefore overwhelmed. In Berlin, they are under military rule, which most brutally suppresses every free movement. There they refused, on the 6th of August, to execute the decree of the National Assembly, and to pay homage to the Regent of the German Empire. In Vienna, I find a more numerous National Guard than exists in any other city. I find the old spirit of the March days still in existence. Yesterday the Aula ventured to rise* up for its acquisitions; and, if liberty is threatened in Paris, Berlin, or Frankfort, Vienna will offer her a strong-hold. But your merits are every where acknowledged; every German heart palpitates at the sight of a Viennese; and I myself traveled as a Viennese, as I am dearly attached to Vienna. In Mayence, I was carried off with some Viennese students from the hotel, as the citizens there considered it an honor to offer hospitality to a Viennese. The same occurred at Cologne, in Paris, and in the Department of the Sorbonne, when I loudly expressed the sympathy of the Viennese for France; and for their admiration and love of the population of Vienna, the flag over my head is a guarantee! The especial object of my visit at this time to Vienna is important. In Frankfort, a struggle is now going on between the men of stability and the men of progress; the latter are in a minority, and not only have protests been entered against them, but the right side have joined in oppressing them. It is, therefore, necessary for Vienna to give a sign of life, a cry of terror to the right side, and of sympathy for the left, to which also the Viennese deputies belong. I will read over again the address, and desire that it may become, by a resolution of this Assembly, an Address of the Aula." The address was then read and unanimously adopted.

* A shameful affair which occurred on the night of the 16th, in trying to relieve by force the editors of the "Students' Courier," arrested for a violation of the laws of the press. The caution-money was afterward paid, and the difficulty ended.



Some idea may be formed of the excitement that existed at that period among the masses, as well as of the grade of their political intelligence, by the fact that such a speech was considered as "electrifying eloquence." But this circumstance affords but a partial insight into the history of the times, as thus illustrated. This brief harangue of Schütte's, as the attentive observer will not fail to discover, exposes the whole plan of operations, and demonstrates how, in the remarkable year of 1848, public opinion was first produced, afterward exported, then manufactured into maxims and principles, and finally restored to its original source. How excitement of the population by the agitators commenced; how by sympathy it was communicated, from point to point, and by reaction continued from month to month, until almost all Europe became involved. How few the instigators, and how untiring their industry, may be inferred from the orator's performances, when he completed the tour of Europe, and ascertained the political condition of the people, as he says, in three months. How they operated upon the feelings of the masses, may be judged of by the fulsome flattery in which he indulges toward the Viennese, calling them the champions of liberty, telling them that they had accomplished things never before done in France, Belgium, or any where else, and that their merits were every where acknowledged.

But by far the most important disclosure which this effort presents, is the fact of how small a part the people took in the origin of all the measures by which the excitement was prolonged, and how completely they rendered themselves servile instruments to further the ends of designing agitators. The very acts by which Vienna acquired the appellation of the greatest city of liberty on the Continent, were the destruction of the ministry and storming of the emperor's palace, on the 15th of May; and these, it will be recollected, were the results of Schütte's own recommendation, when, after his speech in the Odeon, on the 14th of April, he drew from his pocket the *Sturm Petition*, which inevitably produced those events. And "the especial object of his visit" to Vienna at this time, as he has the candor to acknowledge in the conclusion of his address, was to manufacture for the inhabitants of that capital some

further opinions, to serve as a "terror to the right, and sympathy for the left" of the Frankfort Assembly.

About this time, a new element was introduced into the political arena, to swell, if possible, the already overflowing excitement. It was the agitation of the new religion, termed the German Catholic, a kind of compromise between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, and of which Ronge, if not the author, was at least the chief disciple. Several very crowded meetings took place. The religion, however, found but few converts; but the object in view, and which was openly avowed, was advanced, viz., to continue the excitement, to undermine the established religion of the country, and increase the demoralization of the people.

The 21st of August was marked by a tumult with the workmen. The students, by fraternizing with this class, and calling upon them for co-operation in their efforts against the government, brought the proletaria to a knowledge of their physical strength, and thus shook the foundations of social order. They had let loose a power which they found themselves unable to control. A single hand, they forgot, might unbar the cage and let the grim lion out; but, when out, how many and what force would it not require again to confine him?

The Minister of Public Works, perceiving that no labor was performed, resorted to the expedient of giving out the work by contract, or, rather, of remunerating their services, not by the day, but by the quantity of work which had been accomplished. The terms offered were liberal, and the measure could not have affected injuriously the industrious, but only the indolent; yet this measure was deemed such an interference with the rights of the sovereign people as could not be submitted to with patience. Accordingly, on the 21st of August, the day on which this new arrangement was to go into operation, crowds of workmen assembled with flags before the convent of the Liguorians (which, since the expulsion of that body, had been converted into an office for the Committee on Public Works), and before the bureau of the magistracy, to demand the revocation of the obnoxious order. As the authorities would not yield to the demand, and the fermentation became more serious, the Guard

of Security,* and some divisions of the National Guard, were called out to disperse the crowd with the utmost forbearance. No obedience was yielded to the mild measures taken to disperse them; but, on the contrary, they grossly insulted the guards, and the street was finally cleared by a division of the National Guard. The same took place on the *Hohen Markt* and the *Tuchlaben*. The repeatedly uttered threats of the workmen that they would go back for their tools, and thus enforce their rights, induced the city council, for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, to cause the *rappel* for the National Guard to be beaten, the gates of the city to be closed, and the bastions surmounted with cannon. Toward evening, however, the crowds of *ouvriers* had been dispersed, and completely expelled from the city, and no further disturbance occurred on that day.

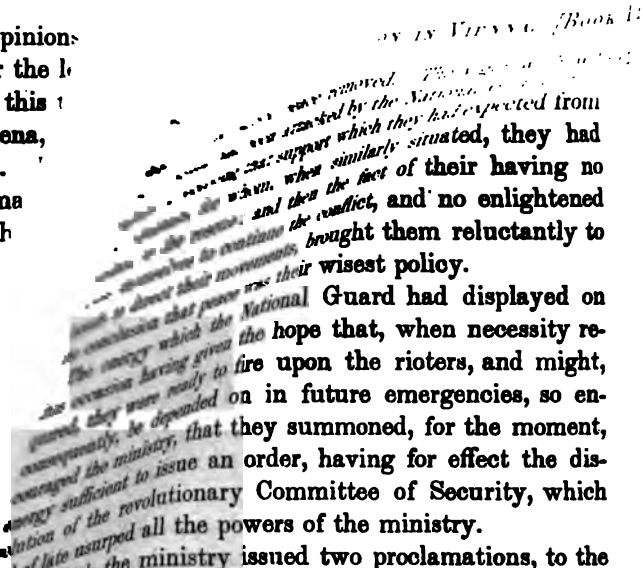
On the 22d of August all was apparently quiet; but soon it was discovered that the workmen had come to a resolution among themselves, that, on the following day, they would be prepared to sustain their demand more energetically. Accordingly, on the next afternoon, between two and three o'clock, several thousand workmen, collected in one of the faubourgs known as the *Leopoldstadt*, were engaged in representing a mock funeral of the Minister of Public Works (who, it was represented, had been choked to death by the kreutzers abstracted from the workmen), and a body of Municipal and National Guards, endeavoring to disperse them, met with resistance. In the excited state in which both parties were, a conflict ensued, several of the Guards were killed and many wounded; and among the workmen, as nearly as could be ascertained, about one hundred were either killed or wounded.† The Municipal Guard acting with intrepidity, and the National Guard with more proper energy than they had ever previously evinced, a few hours were quite sufficient to subdue all opposition, and with the shades of night tranquillity was again restored.

The next morning the city was quiet, and all immediate

* A new municipal guard which had been established.

† The authorities published ten killed and seventy wounded. Many of the wounded subsequently died in the hospital.

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On the 24th, the ministry issued two proclamations, to the effect that they would again assume all power to themselves in the preservation of order, and that the National Guard, as well as all other organs, should in future be subservient to their orders alone.

This unlooked-for boldness and resolution on the part of the ministry confounded the revolutionary party, and staggered for a moment their proud dreams of usefulness and inviolability. The fury of the demagogues, of which that committee consisted, was boundless. For the moment, however, feeling too weak for open resistance, they contented themselves with abusing, through the prints and in placards, the National Guard, who had acted with energy on the previous day, denouncing them as "murderers, fratricides, traitors to the majesty of the people, and instruments of reaction." At a meeting of the committee called that evening, the only measure resolved on by way of opposition was to send rather a threatening communication to the ministry, "challenging them to perform openly and by publication that which they had done only by implication, and, not only to do so, but to do it at once—if possible, that very day."* When they had sent this

* German Almanac.

communication to the ministry, and were still in session, they received from them a note, bearing date the day previous, inclosing them a copy of their proclamation, and stating that they had considered the measure necessary. The deputation dispatched to the ministry soon returned with the written intimation of the dissolution of the committee. The ministry preserved firmness sufficient to adhere to its resolution, but lacked the boldness to assert the true causes which had impelled them to such a course, and, in fact, dishonored themselves by an apology, as degrading to their self-respect as it was inconsistent with truth—stating that "the mission of that committee, accomplished with so much resignation and courage, and crowned with so much success, was at an end." "The ministry consider it a sacred duty to express to the honorable members of that committee its warmest thanks and full esteem for their successful activity for the city and state during the most threatening moments." That, "in retiring into private life, the committee would carry with them the consoling reflection of a conscientious and honorable discharge of their duty as citizens," etc.

If these fulsome compliments to a revolutionary committee, who had usurped all the powers of the government, and had contributed chiefly to the disturbance of the capital, had been characterized by truth, they should never have been dissolved. Efforts for the tranquillity of the city, discharged with so much courage, and attended with so much success, during the severest trials to which the city and state were exposed, certainly merited a better fate than a dissolution of such a body. Certainly a singular way to express thanks, and manifest esteem for an association, to order its immediate annihilation. But prevarication and inconsistency were among the slightest charges to which the conduct of the ministry in this affair was amenable.

By the dissolution of that committee, the ministry had performed, if not the only, certainly the most important and praiseworthy act of their whole administration. They had reassumed the reins of government, which had been snatched from them by a self-constituted and unauthorized body; but by the very document in which they communicate that meas-



danger to the public peace removed. The vigor with which the workmen had been attacked by the National Guard; their failure in receiving that support which they had expected from the students, for whom, when similarly situated, they had rushed to the rescue; and then the fact of their having no arms themselves to continue the conflict, and no enlightened heads to direct their movements, brought them reluctantly to the conclusion that peace was their wisest policy.

The energy which the National Guard had displayed on this occasion having given the hope that, when necessity required, they were ready to fire upon the rioters, and might, consequently, be depended on in future emergencies, so encouraged the ministry, that they summoned, for the moment, energy sufficient to issue an order, having for effect the dissolution of the revolutionary Committee of Security, which had of late usurped all the powers of the ministry.

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ure, they basely surrender all the advantages which they had gained. They had not only manifested the fear they entertained of the committee itself, as well as of its friends throughout the city, but, as it were, put into their hands the very weapons by which that act could be reversed, and the ministry themselves destroyed, since it would require no further evidence than their own statements to convince the public that a committee whose laudable efforts had been attended with so much success ought, at least, to be sustained; while it was equally clear, that a ministry who could have been guilty of the rashness to decree their dissolution were worthy themselves of instant dismissal.

During that sitting of the committee, a beautiful and most enthusiastic lady rushed into the apartment, and implored the committee not to dissolve. "To whom shall the people now address itself in its hour of need," said she, "if you retire?" "Do not give way to reaction! It only desires your dissolution! Vienna is in a troubled state; all minds are excited; parties oppose each other with hostility; how will all these difficulties end?"

Despite this extraordinary solicitation, the president pronounces a valedictory address to the committee, and declares them dissolved; but immediately the members of that committee form another association, to be composed of the same members, for the prosecution of the same objects, only to be distinguished by a different name. Instead of a committee, it was to be called a club; instead of being composed of National Guards, students, and citizens, it was to consist of citizens, National Guards, and students; instead of having for its object the public security, it was to confine itself to the preservation of the public order.

The first meeting of that club, on the 28th of August, was distinguished as the last meeting of its predecessor, by an address from females; and, what was another remarkable feature in the matter, the address, signed by fifteen females, was not a congratulation to the new, but a vote of thanks merely to the old committee—another evidence, if it were needed, of the identity of the two bodies.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate occurrences of the 23d of Au-

gust had been profitably embraced by the Propagandists to create dissatisfaction in all directions. The Aula became furious; and notwithstanding the audacity manifested in attacking its militia (the *proletaria*), as it dared not undertake openly its defense, became more active in secret intrigues. The example set was by no means flattering or consolatory; for who could undertake to say that the National Guard, brought to a sense of their duty, and convinced of their own strength, would not next be brought to operate against those other disturbers of the public peace—the Academical Legion. No means were spared which could be effectual in creating prejudice against the National Guard, who had been in service on the 23d, the Municipal Guard, and the ministry.

From that day the destruction of the ministry was resolved on. The animosity of the public was particularly concentrated on Latour, Dobblhof, Bach, and Schwarzer. The first had incurred their displeasure on account of the ability and fidelity with which he devoted himself to his duties, the restoration and strengthening of the army, which he regarded as the sheet-anchor of the monarchy. Dobblhof and Bach had offended by their suddenly-changed positions; and Schwarzer by his measures against the workmen.

On the 28th of August, the first measures were taken toward the formation of a society of Democratic women. An anonymous female writer called, through the newspapers, a meeting of all "German women," to take place on a certain day, in the *Volksgarten*, where all favorable to the cause were to appear with German-colored ribbons. The assembly was numerous, but they were much annoyed by the men, who also appeared in great numbers as spectators. That they were the miserable dupes of designing agitators, was evident from the very first motion made by one of these female politicians; which was, that a collection should be taken up for the poor wounded workmen and their families, and to request the ministry to increase their wages. This was the first entrance of the female sex into the political arena. Their subsequent advance, incorporation into a regiment, fighting upon the barricades, and disgraceful exit, will appear in the October Revolution.

On the 3d of September, the Democratic Union, indefatigable in its efforts to maintain and increase the public excitement, had prepared a solemn funeral procession in honor of the workmen killed on the 23d of August.

These misguided *proletaria*, who, at that time, in attempting to enforce their insolent demand for higher wages by a most culpable demonstration, and who finally, by a most willful provocation of the National Guard, met their deaths, were now eulogized and honored as martyrs of liberty and victims of arbitrary power. This willful demonstration against the ministry and the National Guard was participated in by thousands of the latter, to the great astonishment and grief of the well-disposed. All Democratic and Radical clubs, as well as the new society of women, took part in the proceedings. The whole Academical Legion, and the Union of Workmen were present. The endless procession, with vailed banners, marched from the glacis in front of the *Schottenthor* to the *Währinger* church-yard. With peculiar gravity, the Democratic Union headed the column, not one of the Radical leaders being absent. The procession having reached the church-yard, the graves of the fallen workmen were, with much ceremony, decorated with flowers; after which, they proceeded to a large meadow adjoining, where hymns were sung and revolutionary speeches made. One of the speakers then called on the audience to take the solemn oath that they would "struggle and die for liberty;" when they all, with one voice, exclaimed, "We swear it!" A preparatory step toward the awful 6th of October was thus taken; but, as the ministry now prudently determined not to notice any insurrectionary conduct which they had not the courage to put down, no further disturbance resulted from this demonstration.*

* On the 5th of September, a meeting was held at the Hotel of the Roman Emperor, at the instance of Dr. Vivenot, at which it was proposed that all those who were in favor of the maintenance of the constitutional monarchical system should form a powerful union, to counteract the ruinous tendencies of the Radical and Republican party. The suggestion met with unbounded applause. The necessity of such a union could no longer be denied; it should have been formed long previously. In less than eight days, more than twenty-five thousand members had signed. The best effect was expected from the efficacy of that union, which was to have been extended to the provincial cities. But, tardy as the Ger-

From the want of energy displayed by the ministry on this occasion, the disorders of the city now daily increased. On one day, torch-light processions took place, and exciting speeches were delivered in honor of a deputy who had very suddenly turned from the *right* to the *left* side. On the next, an attack was made by the mob on the office of a paper called the *Geisel* (Scourge), the editor of which had been so imprudent as to raise the Austrian flag from his windows. It might have been supposed that, in a city where so many harangues were heard in favor of liberty, a person might have enjoyed the privilege of raising on his house the national standard of his country—that which had been for centuries the banner of the empire. But no; the appearance of that flag was the signal for his immolation. The office of the *Geisel* was attacked, the black and yellow flag was torn down and carried by the students, as a trophy, to the university. The windows were all broken, and the papers found in the office torn to pieces and scattered through the streets. Such was their idea of the inviolability of private property, the sacredness of private dwellings. What a contrast to the household freedom of England, which Chatham so eloquently and poetically describes, when he says, "An Englishman's house is his castle. Its roof may be of straw, the winds may whistle around, the snow and the rain may enter it, but the king can not, he dare not!"

On the 11th, the city was again thrown into a state of great agitation, in consequence of a demonstration made by the mob, and which was produced in the following manner. It appears that a financial measure was proposed by some designing individuals, ostensibly for the relief of the tradesmen of Vienna during these distracted times, but in reality for the advancement of their own pecuniary interest; and the emperor, in the benevolence of his heart, having contributed ten thousand florins toward the relief of the public necessities, this circumstance was seized upon by the intriguing speculators as a pretext for insisting that the government should guarantee the validity of the paper or stock issued by them; and to obtain

mans generally are, the society had scarcely become organized, when the 6th of October arrived, and the society was dissolved.

the connivance of all the tradesmen, who had become involved in the project, was an easy task.

On the afternoon of the 11th, the shareholders, students, and mob marched upon the bureau of the Minister of the Interior, and demanded that the minister should guarantee the stock, and, in case of refusal, threatened to find means to reimburse themselves by force. The minister, alarmed at the increase of the tumult, finally gave the assurance, to a deputation which had forced its way into his apartments, that an answer should be given to their demands the next morning. The mob, satisfied with this reply, for the moment retired from the spot; but other outrages were committed before the bureau of the municipality, which was broken into during the night.

On the morning of the 12th, the place or square before the bureau of the Minister of the Interior was crowded with people. The ministry issued a proclamation declaring that the stock company established by Swoboda* was but a private enterprise, and of which the ministry could, under no circumstances, undertake the guarantee; but, in order that the poor tradesmen might not endure a serious loss by these shares, the ministry would appoint a commission whose business it should be strictly to examine into the matter, and prevent any further frauds on the part of that company; and they further urged that all this could only be effected by the practice of moderation on the part of the people, and a respect for the public tranquillity; and they declared against any tumultuous demand or illegal usurpation, the most severe measures would be employed. Such language at this time was singularly offensive to the ears of the sovereign people. To obtain any thing in a legal manner had become unfashionable since the Storm Petition of the 15th of May; while popular tumults had become not only more agreeable and exciting, but vastly more efficacious. Insults and threats were immediately made use of; the word "*severity*" was cut out of the proclamation, and loud voices cried, "A decision must be given instantly, or we will interfere with '*severity*.' Our money we demand; the ministry must guarantee the shares."

* The author of the project, and a man of very ambiguous character.

The disorder increased, and the crowd at length broke into the bureau in search of the minister, to force him to yield. His life was threatened. The bureau was occupied by only a few National Guards. The advancing mob, destroying all windows and doors on their way, reached, finally, the apartment of the minister; but, fortunately, he had escaped. The tumult became alarming. Toward noon the city was aroused, and the National Guard called out. Later, the faubourgs became agitated. The watch-posts at the gates were re-enforced by guards. At one o'clock the regular military entered the city, and took positions on the *Hof* and *Juden Platz*. The Academical Legion was also under arms, at the university. No conflict took place, although every thing betokened a dreadful struggle; when (on the 13th) the Diet undertook a discussion of the matter, and concluded to appropriate a million of florins* toward the immediate relief of those who had suffered by that fraudulent speculation, and two millions, besides, for the sustenance of all unemployed tradesmen of the city. The publication of that measure, the compliance with their unjust demand, should have been sufficient, it might have been supposed, to satisfy the desires of the most unreasonable; but such was not the case; the excitement thus produced was taken advantage of by the students and Radicals generally, and a plot commenced, having for its object to crush the ministry, dissolve the Diet, and re-establish the lately-suppressed "Committee of Security." Inflammatory addresses were made to the people. Every one favorable to the movement wore upon his hat a placard bearing the inscription, "Citizens of Vienna, the reinstallation of the Committee of Security alone will save you!" From what the citizens were to be saved, or by what they were threatened, no one stopped to inquire; while a deputation of students, National Guards, and citizens were dispatched to the ministry, to demand the immediate reinstallation of the committee. The ministry, on this occasion, remained firm, and refused to receive the deputation. The Minister of War had that morning announced to the Diet that he had been furnished with proof of the conspir-

* An Austrian florin is about forty-eight cents.

acy which was on foot in the city; that he had been advised, by some of the captains of the National Guard, that their men had refused obedience to the *rappel*, and would not appear unless sustained by the regular military; and he requested, therefore, permission of the Diet to call in the military to the support of the Guard, and the mutual defense of the city. The permission sought was accorded. The Diet forthwith pronounced itself in permanent session. The military were introduced, and took up threatening positions. The support of the workmen, owing to the lesson they had received on the 23d of August, was wanting. The summons to erect barricades met with no response; and the Legion and the agitators could not avoid the conviction that their plans had, this time at least, failed. The quiet of the city was restored without the loss of blood, except on the part of a grenadier, who was shot at and wounded as the troops were marching out of the gates, and returning to their barracks. The assassin escaped under cover of the night.

The shameful tumult of the 13th of September passed uninvestigated and unnoticed. The demagogues, who could not deny their defeat, were not at all discouraged. On the contrary, they proceeded with their task, but with increased boldness and activity, perceiving that their audacity had met with no more serious check. Insurrection now appeared without disguise. Hitherto it had been like the "pestilence which walketh in darkness;" but now it stalked abroad under the light of a meridian sun.

Manifestations which, under any well-organized government, would never have occurred, or, if attempted, have been instantly suppressed, now took place daily, under the eyes of imperial authority, without exciting the slightest attention.

The disaffected National Guard from the various faubourgs, and the workmen of the neighborhood, now dispatched deputation after deputation to the students, assuring them that they were "ready at any hour to sacrifice their lives for the Academical Legion."

Those Austrians, who, with more spirit than their fellows, provoked by the insults offered to the imperial flag, purposely adopted cockades of those colors, were pursued, attacked, and

beaten by the Radicals each day in the streets, without being able to obtain from the authorities either redress for the past or security for the future.

A deputation arriving from Hungary is received at the landing-place of the steamer with tumultuous shouts, and conducted through the city with uninterrupted *eljens*.* Honored by the Democratic Union, the students, and National Guard, with a torch-light procession, the most inflammatory speeches were delivered on the occasion, in which it was declared that "the Austrians would share with the Hungarians liberty or death;" that "the Pragmatic Sanction had ceased to exist;" and that "the Hungarian and Austrian people alone were sovereign."

But a single step remained to be taken before the final blow, viz., to secure the co-operation of the peasantry; and this was accomplished, on the 24th of September, in the following manner. On that day occurred a meeting of all the various unions of the city, to be followed by a torch-light procession, in honor of a deputy named Küdlich, who had been successful in carrying through the Diet a bill for the relief of the peasantry, in having them emancipated from the serf-labor to which they had been subject. Although the emperor had recommended such a project as early as the month of April, the deputy Küdlich was, in the eyes of the Radicals, entitled to all the credit, and a thousand peasants joined the procession to do homage to their great benefactor. The mass addressed by Küdlich, and several other deputies of the left side, were openly summoned to resistance, and to a violation of all order and authority. The orators expressly avowed that a time might come when the liberal representatives of the country would need the assistance and support of the *Landsturm*,† and the peasantry were directly interrogated to *know* whether, in such an emergency, they could be relied on.

The news of the outbreak in Frankfort, which occurred on the 17th and 18th of September, now reached Vienna, to add fuel to the flame. The attempt to storm the Assembly, and to proclaim a republic, failed through the intervention of Austrian and Prussian troops from Mayence; but two distinguish-

* Hungarian *vivats*. † Peasant soldiers.

Mainz

ed deputies and members of the government were brutally assassinated. The affair was extolled in the "Radical," edited by the ill-fated Dr. Becher,* as a noble act of the public will, barbarously suppressed by military despotism; and the hope was expressed that, Antæus-like, the German people would rise with renewed energies to the struggle, and that the inhabitants of Vienna would not be slow in imitating so laudable an example. This open summons to rebellion passed, however, unnoticed by the government.

Affairs were rapidly approaching a climax. On the 22d and 25th of September, the emperor issued, in Schönbrunn, proclamations in relation to Hungarian affairs, and in which he expresses his determination to oppose the movements in progress in that kingdom with all possible energy. But, strange to say, despite these manifestoes, in which he characterized the conduct of the Hungarians as insurrectionary, volunteer corps were formed in Vienna, in the actual presence of all his authorities, for the purpose of rendering aid to the Hungarian cause. The Aula entered most enthusiastically into the movement, and formed a corps which was dispatched to the relief of their Hungarian brethren. Amid the acclamations of the people, several divisions of volunteer corps, with that from the Academical Legion, left Vienna, toward the end of the month, for Pesth; and it was by one of these volunteers that the High Commissioner of his majesty, Count Lamburg, was recognized after his arrival at Pesth, and there inhumanly murdered.

A dark cloud overhung the city. It daily grew more ominous. All saw and felt that it must soon burst upon their devoted heads, and yet, spell-bound, no one attempted to avert or prevent the catastrophe. All authority was paralyzed; the peaceable and well-disposed were disheartened; the agitators alone, joyful and active, like storm-birds of the ocean, seemed to welcome the approaching tempest, and to be inspired by a war of the elements, which strews death and desolation on its path.

All was now prepared for carrying their projects into effect; for striking a blow at the head of imperial authority in the capital which would extinguish the remaining symptoms of vitali-

* Shot upon the taking of Vienna, after the October Revolution.

ty that still lingered in the paralyzed body, and emancipate, as they thought, not only the capital, but the provinces from all submission to the imperial sceptre. That event occurred on the 6th of October; and with it those awful scenes so memorable in the annals of Austria, and to which will be devoted the pages of a succeeding chapter.

The origin, development, and conclusion of the March Revolution in Vienna are full of instruction. Nothing could have been more laudable than the first efforts of the people, if not to rid themselves of the oppression under which they labored, at least to acquire those essential ingredients of freedom enjoyed by other enlightened nations, and loudly demanded by the advanced spirit of the age. Their first demands, viz., for freedom of the press, liberty to bear arms, and a Constitution, were just and reasonable; the entire body of the people united in the application; the appeal could not be resisted, and the monarch yielded to the popular will. The wisdom, however, which enables its possessor to use political power, and not abuse it, is one of the rarest acquisitions of mankind, and can be gained only by many ages of well-regulated industry and experienced freedom. Such privileges, therefore, can not with safety be extended to the population where the nation is just emerging from the fetters of servitude, where they have never before enjoyed any political advantages, and have always lived under a despotism in ignorance of their rights. It would seem to be the intention of Nature, that the power of the people should increase as society advances; but it is not her will that this increase should take place in such manner as to convulse the state, and ultimately extinguish the freedom of the people. All improvements that are really beneficial, all changes which are destined to be lasting, are gradual in their progress.*

* "It is by suddenly increasing the powers of the lower orders that the frame of society is frequently endangered, because the immediate effect of such a change is to unsettle men's minds, and bring into full play the most visionary and extravagant ideas of the most desperate and ambitious men. If there be any one conviction which has united the suffrage of all the greatest statesmen and most profound political reasoners—of Aristotle, Bacon, Montesquieu, and Burke—it is that all great political changes should be gradual and continuous, wrought out so as not to supersede, but to harmonize with preceding institutions, and so that there

The privileges conceded by the sovereign, although containing many defects in their terms, as was most natural to inexperienced legislators, were found, nevertheless, to include more freedom than the people were prepared for, and, like deadly weapons in the hands of the unskillful, facilitated their destruction instead of contributing to their defense.* The law relative to the press, though objectionable in the unreasonable amount of "caution-money" demanded, and the superior guards it threw around the members of the imperial family, nevertheless allowed too much freedom for those who had always written and read under a censorship that supervised even the most trivial advertisement; the columns of their numerous prints, therefore, instead of being devoted to the cause of legal order, were prostituted to the most incendiary and abusive attacks both of the government and the people, and excited constant rebellion and outrage.† The important right to bear arms, not only for their own personal defense, but the high privilege of being themselves the defenders of the state in the hour of peril, which would have enabled the government to dispense with a hireling soldiery, whose arms might at any moment have been turned against their own defenseless bosoms; and the immense amount of taxes of which they would thus have been relieved by constituting themselves the bulwark of the country, were considerations entirely lost sight of; and those very arms confided to them by the government for its own defense, were, on the very first occasion they were used, turned against constituted authority.

The idea once prevailed that anarchy was little to be apprehended when the armed body reckoned soldiers in every house, and on every floor in the peasant's hut, as well as the rich man's *château;* but experience has dispelled the delusion, and proved that an immense mass of armed men often become a prey to disturbing passions, and, instead of suppress-

shall not only be no solution of continuity in the series of political developments, but even no visible danger of it."—*Alison.*

* Solon, when asked if he had given the best laws to Athens, remarked, the best it could bear.

† Many of the new prints, instead of touching political subjects, did nothing but attack private character, and that often of the most unobtrusive and estimable citizens.

ing disorder and violence, are themselves its frequent promoters.

There is no instance on record where a National Guard, established upon the close of a Revolution, has remained entirely true and loyal to the government by which it was armed. The only situation in which a citizen soldier becomes of any efficiency to the country is where (as is the case of the militia in the United States) he is a part of the government, and so identified with the institutions of the country that their destruction would inevitably involve his own ruin. These Guards, moreover, have seldom proved efficacious in opposing the violence of the rabble. In the last century, in Paris, they were the passive spectators of the cruelties daily enacted before their eyes; and in February, 1848, they stood aloof, neither making, resisting, nor even directing the Revolution, but only paralyzing the regular army, to which they owed their escape from instant annihilation.

The Constitution granted to the Austrian people contained many of the elements of freedom. The ministers were to be responsible; the emperor could dissolve the Diet; but, in such case, must convoke a new one in ninety days; the private citizens were guaranteed individual liberty, freedom of worship and of the press, the right of association, of petition, and of emigration; liberty of trade, open courts of justice, and trial by jury. The document was indisputably loose and defective; but, it should be recollected, it was merely an *outline*.* Objections might fairly be made to the composition of the Upper Chamber, which was to consist of princes of the blood and an indefinite number of counselors, some elected by the people, others nominated by the crown. But it was expressly understood that the whole scheme was to be subject to revision by the assembled representatives of the nation, and for their judgment it should have been reserved. Once promulgated, it should have been adhered to, until the sentiments of the people could be ascertained in a fair and legitimate way. Instead of that, it was virtually abandoned by the excision of its princi-

* The instrument possessed all the advantages of a *charte octroyée* and an ordinary and popular Constitution; since, though given by the sovereign, it was to be revised and corrected by the people.

pal features at the command of a mob of fanatical youths. An attempt at intimidation, which it was the bounden duty of the government to treat as a riot, and to put down at any cost, was submitted to as an expression of the paramount will of the people.

This was a fatal error on the part of the government; it was not the impulse of enlightened patriotism. "The love of real freedom," says Alison, "may always be distinguished from the passion for popular power. The one is directed to objects of practical importance and the redress of experienced wrongs, and the other aims at visionary improvements and the increase of popular influence. The one complains of what has been felt, the other anticipates what may be gained; disturbances arising from the first subside, when the evils from which they spring are removed; troubles, originating in the second, magnify with every victory which is achieved. The experience of evil is the cause of agitation from the first; the love of power the source of convulsions from the last."

It was a profound remark of Sir James Macintosh, that "political constitutions are *not made, but grow.*"

Had the people been content to try the Constitution offered them by the emperor, they might, after witnessing it in practical operation, judge better of its defects; while their increasing experience in legislation would have enabled them to make sound and wholesome amendments.

The people, in short, were not prepared for so great and sudden a change. "It is necessary," says Montesquieu, "that people's minds should be prepared for the reception even of the best laws." The evils latent in the most promising contrivances can only be discerned upon trial, and are best provided for as they arise. Rapid and extensive innovations, suddenly effected, even though, abstractly, for the better, change too rapidly the habits and associations of the national mind in relation to its institutions. The sudden introduction of even a better Constitution is not sure to carry with it that great element of political excellence, *stability;* and the reason is, that such stability is founded less upon ideas of theoretical perfection than upon association and habit.*

* Edinburgh Review.

Not only was the change too sudden a one, but the people themselves were not adapted for it, either in education or habit. A population thus place-ridden and police-governed, where the people were looked upon as an animal mass, created for the will and pleasure of the state, it may readily be conceived, was totally unfitted for self-government. In our ardent enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, we are apt, in the United States, to assimilate the late revolutions in Europe with our own struggle for independence, and to think that there, as with us, it is only necessary to throw off the yoke of the tyrant, and the people would be found perfectly prepared for the enjoyment of all the rights of freedom; but a greater error never was committed. Such opinions are held by persons who forget that our ancestors sprang from the most free country in the world—a country that had existed for near two centuries under a Constitution guaranteeing to them the *Habeas Corpus*, trial by jury, and all the other essential elements of freedom. Our ancestors, also, could not bear even the restraints of this government; which was considered, on that side of the water, as a perfect prodigy of freedom; and hence they fled to this Western wilderness, to avoid the restraints which they found insupportable there. It is a fact, too, the truth of which subsequent events fully corroborate, that our ancestors left their homes beyond the water with the settled plan and fixed determination to establish, on the soil of America, a separate government—a government which, while it should embrace all the liberal portions of the British Constitution, should still be free from the unjust restraints and oppressive features of that instrument.

Civil independence was as truly the object of our ancestors in emigrating to America as religious liberty. At any rate, that the one was considered the essential means of securing the other, was evident from the fact that, in the early charters which they brought with them, for the original government of the colonies, *independence* was most dextrously grafted.* It can, then, be easily conceived that, with a people thus accustomed to the enjoyment of liberty—thus familiar with all

* Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

the rights of man—it was only necessary to throw off the yoke of Great Britain, and they were quite prepared for the enjoyment of rational liberty, quite able to undertake the difficult task of self-government. But how widely different is the situation of the unfortunate people in Europe who have always existed under the iron sceptre of despotism; where the only law is the tyrant's will; where the education of the people, so far as they enjoyed any instruction at all, was so carefully guarded by the government, that not one ray of liberty ever penetrated their benighted minds; where they could not even define the word; and where their only conception of it was *licentiousness*, or the freedom to do any thing and every thing which inclination or interest might dictate.

One of the most talented of the Radical leaders in Vienna—one who afterward paid the forfeit of his life for the extravagance of his opinions—was heard to say to an American,* "We wish no such republic as you have in the United States; we wish something original; we wish a government where there shall not only be an equality of rights and of rank, but an equality of property, and an equality of every thing." Another influential Radical, one of the celebrated Council of Fifty-two, to whom, for a season, was committed all the affairs of the German Confederation, remarked to the same gentleman, "Sir, the only course left to us is, to raise the *guillotine*, and to keep it in constant and active operation; our only watchword should be, *Blood! blood! blood!* and the more blood that flows, the sooner shall we attain our liberties!" Such sentiments were not only freely promulgated, but even published. The *Reich Zeitung*, edited by two members of the Diet at Frankfort, in the number which appeared on the 24th of November, 1848, contains the following awful idea: "The destroying angel of the Revolution will pass over the world, and the word of mercy will become paralyzed upon the lips of the triumphant people!"

And that such ideas were not confined to words, the brutal murders of Prince Lichnowsky and Count Auerswald, at Frankfort; Count Latour, at Vienna; Count Lamburg, at

* The author.

Pesth; and Count Rossi, at Rome, will attest. Such atrocities were uncalled for, unsuited to the cause, and destructive of the very ends they were intended to accomplish. How different was the conduct of the people of the United States, when placed under similar circumstances! When the English colonies in America declared their independence of the mother-country, and dissolved "all connection between them and the crown of Great Britain," there were royal governors presiding, "in the name and by the authority" of the King of England, over each of the colonies. Were these mercenaries of a sovereign—these instruments of royalty—brutally murdered? their bodies hung up to lamp-posts, or dragged, perhaps, through the streets of a capital? Was even a hair of their heads touched? No! they were suffered to depart in peace; they were considered but the minions of power; and had the Americans descended so far as to soil their hands in their blood, it might not only have defeated the ends at which they aimed, but would have proved them unworthy of the blessing to which they aspired.

It is a fact which can not be contradicted, that there exists in every country in Europe a certain party more remarkable for its daring and its violence than for its numbers, which is the avowed enemy of all government, and of society itself. The free institutions of England, or the Republican novelties of France, are just as obnoxious to their animosity as the despotism of Austria or the autocracy of Russia. Alike under all forms of government, they deny the stringency of rights and the authority of law. To buy off their hostility by concessions, is but a sign of weakness. Instead of appearing before them at the window of the Tuileries, with the red cap of liberty on his head, as Louis the Sixteenth did, such fiends are rather to be treated in the manner suggested by the youth who witnessed the humiliating spectacle—"they should cut down the first five hundred with grape-shot, and the remainder would soon take to flight"—and who lived to put his principles in practice on the very spot. It was Napoleon Bonaparte. Whether living under a monarchy or a republic, society must defend itself against such men, either by the penal code or the cannon. The great bane of all European governments is that

class of population inseparable from most European capitals; who feel not a particle of interest either in the government or its institutions; to whom any political change, as it could not be for the worse, must be for the better, and who consequently are ever ready, at the call of a foreign emissary or a domestic agitator, to take up arms against the government. Destitute alike of property, education, and morals, they become the most willing and efficient instruments of destruction.* Had the students of Vienna not held at their beck and call a troop of fifty thousand, at least, of such *proletaria*, they could never have created those disturbances, wrested from the government all its authority, and kept the city in a state of continued and alarming excitement. The government is, in a great measure, to blame for this evil, in the ignorance in which the masses are kept, and in their deprivation of the means of a more honorable and independent existence, where they are not allowed to pursue any trade, however humble, without leave of the government; and until there is a change of policy on the part of the rulers, one can hardly be expected on the part of the subjects.

One of the principal causes of the failure of the Revolution was the destruction of that over-ruling power so necessary for the preservation of order in all governments—the failure to enforce upon the people the adoption of those salutary measures indispensable to their existence. This sentiment was expressed by General Washington just before the meeting of the Convention, at Philadelphia, that formed the Constitution: "We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature

* Had there been no such population in London or Paris, the Chartist demonstration in the former, however feeble, or the insurrection of June in the latter, however terrible, would not have occurred. Fortunately for the United States, they are free from such a danger; for, according to the principles of our political system, every man is a part of the government, and its destruction would involve his own ruin. All that he possesses, be it more or less, he holds by no other tenure than that of the permanency of the institutions under which he lives. We have not, and never can have, as long as our present form of government endures, one class of inhabitants who will have less interest in its institutions than another. And we have not, and never can have, for centuries, the class of population who are the bane of Europe, with such an ocean-bound continent as we possess. The Mississippi Valley alone, it is computed, will contain a population of seventy-five millions, when it becomes as thickly settled as England.

in forming our *Confederation*. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good without the intervention of a coercive power." But the great body of the Republicans of Europe are as remote from the principles of the great founder of the American commonwealth as they are from the purity of his personal character. This coercive power, in the shape either of monarchy or of executive government, is precisely what the Revolution overthrew; and, until it is restored, by a resuscitation of imperial authority as in Vienna, or a substitution of another power as in France, no advances could be made toward order and government.

Another cause which impeded the success of the movement party was the total inefficiency of the National Assemblies. Nowhere did they seem to understand, with any precision, the nature of their duties or the limits of their powers. Where they were *constituent* assemblies, they encroached on the province of permanent legislation; where they were *legislative* bodies, they endeavored to assume the functions of the executive. Their whole history was one pertinacious effort to concentrate, in their own hands, all the powers of the state; and, in the course of their attacks on the executive, they contrived often, by demands which no rulers with the least comprehension of, or respect for their own position, could dream of conceding, to put themselves so completely in the wrong, that public sympathy had deserted them long before their fall. Another mistake, committed by the friends of freedom in 1848, was the mixing up of two objects, wholly distinct in themselves, and of which the desirableness was by no means equally clear—constitutional rights and national unity. Both in Italy and Germany, instead of concentrating their efforts on the attainment of free institutions for each separate state, they complicated their cause, and distracted and weakened their party, by raising the standard of freedom and that of unity at the same time.* The two objects united were hopeless, for each of itself was gigantic. Representative assemblies, a free press, an open administration of justice, were boons which every one could appreciate, and which every one was willing to fight for.

* North British Review.

The creation of a great state out of the various nationalities of Italy and Germany respectively was a dream of enthusiastic theorists; and, however important or beneficial it might ultimately have proved, was not universally desired, and it was surrounded by difficulties which, if not insuperable, demanded at least a peaceful era and patient toil for their solution.

In every country the friends of movement committed precisely the same series of blunders. They had not yet learned the lesson, now taught them, alike by the successes and the failures of that memorable year, that concessions wrung from sovereigns form the surest basis of a nation's freedom; that it is only by making the most of these, by consolidating and using them, not by pushing them to excess, that constitutional liberty is secured; and that to press victory so far as to drive away the sovereign, is, in nine cases out of ten, to resign themselves, bound hand and foot, to the dictation of the mob. They became excited, instead of contented by the vast concessions they had won; they grasped at more, instead of employing and securing that which they had gained.

They showed by their attitude, their proposals, and their language, that they were neither intellectually nor morally *masters of their position;* they were not educated up to the requirements of their new station; their minds could not rise to a full comprehension of its duties, nor their consciences to a clear comprehension of its responsibilities; they alarmed where they should have soothed; disgusted where they should have conciliated; dared where they should have shrunk; and, like "fools, rushed in where angels fear to tread."*

They did not understand the business, nature, and limits of constitutional freedom. They committed the fatal error, in their position so difficult to avoid, of tolerating, and encouraging even, rather than suppressing popular turbulence and mob dictation; of relaxing the arm of the law at the very moment when its strength and its sternness required to be most plainly felt. By these errors and deficiencies, they signed the death-warrant of their own ascendency, by convincing the wise and patriotic that liberty was not safe with them; the proprietary body that property was not secure in their hands; and

* North British Review.

the commercial classes that credit was insecure under their guardianship.

It is impossible, however, that so many experiments should have been tried, so many mistakes made, so many failures incurred, so many catastrophes brought about, without leaving behind many sad but salutary convictions. The great lesson which, it may be hoped, the friends of liberty and progress will have learned from the events of 1848 is this—that constitutional freedom must be gained by degrees, not by one desperate and sudden effort. The people must be content to conquer their political and civil rights step by step, as not only the easiest and surest, but, in the end, the speediest way. Their true and safe policy is to accept and make the most of all concessions which either a sense of danger or a sense of justice may dictate to their rulers; to remember that these, small though they may seem to one party, doubtless appear great to the other, and may have cost much self-sacrifice; and that, at all events, they are bound to use them diligently but soberly, to grow familiar with them, become masters of them; to acquire by practice dexterity in their use, and thus consolidate and secure their possession. Let them gradually, as opportunity shall serve, use these concessions as the stepping-stone to more; but never, save in the last extremity, supersede the executive authority, or call in the mob. Any attempt on the part of the people to snatch, in the hour of victory, more than they know how to wield, more than they can use well, is a retrograde and fatally false step; it is, in fact, playing the game of their opponents. If they employ their newly-acquired rights and institutions in such a manner as to show that they do not understand them and can not manage them, and that, therefore, public tranquillity and social security are likely to be endangered by mistakes growing out of their excitement and inexperience—the great body of sober and peaceful citizens are quick to take alarm, and to carry back the material and moral weight of their sympathies to the side of the old system, however despotic may have been its character. The just and true views, when expressed in the language of a principle, are simply these: all wise and educated people will prefer a free to a despotic government, *ceteris paribus*, i. e., order and secu-

rity being the bases in both cases; but the worst theoretical government which assures these essential predicates will be, and ought to be, preferred to the best theoretical government which endangers them. The majority of the sober and influential classes will always be found on the side of that party which best understands *the practical act of administration*, however defective or erroneous may be its fundamental principles, however medieval may be its name. If the year 1848 has taught this truth to the movement party, the cause of rational freedom will have gained incalculably by its first disasters.

CHAPTER II.

INSURRECTION IN MILAN.—RADETZKY AND HIS ARMY DRIVEN FROM THE CITY. —INVASION OF LOMBARDY BY PIEDMONTESE, TUSCANS, ROMANS, AND NEAPOLITANS.—THEIR OVERTHROW AND EXPULSION BY RADETZKY, AND HIS COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF THE REVOLTING KINGDOM.

SINCE the fall of Napoleon, the power of Austria over Italy has been predominant.

In 1816, the King of Naples was prohibited, by an engagement with Austria, from granting a Constitution to his subjects. Austria, shortly after, exacted a treaty to the same effect from the King of Sardinia, and from every prince in Italy. The Neapolitans having, notwithstanding, established a Constitution in 1820, Austria immediately suppressed it by force of arms. She interfered, in 1821, in Piedmont. In 1831, and again in 1832, for the same object, and to realize a similar purpose, she bore down upon the Papal States. The native governments, every where enslaved and trammeled by Austrian agents, Italy became little less than a Cis-Alpine Austria. On the 14th of June, 1846, Cardinal Mastai was elected to fill the pontifical chair, and assumed the appellation of Pius the Ninth. The Pope, a plain, upright man, who could not foresee the consequences of his bounty, immediately commenced the work of reform and regeneration, with a view to relieve Italy from the foreign domination and bad government under which she labored. The sovereigns of two of the best administered of the Italian states determined on following the example of the pontiff. They wisely resolved that there should be no room for invidious comparisons between the condition of their own subjects and that of their Italian neighbors.

Austria put herself, as of old, at the head of the stationary faction, in which she was joined by the King of Naples, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma.

No part of the Italian people were more keenly alive to the difference between a national and improving government, and

a foreign despotic oppression, than the inhabitants of Lombardy and Venice, who were immediately subject to Austria. While they themselves were left under the galling yoke of the Viennese bureaucracy, they had now only to look over their border and behold the Swiss on one side free; the subjects of the Pope, of the King of Sardinia, and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany on the other, governed by native Italians, and rapidly advancing in their political condition. The grievances of which the Lombards particularly complained, and which it is necessary to understand before contemplating the struggle, appeared in a manifesto issued to the European nations after the expulsion of the Austrians from Milan. It is as follows:

"The Austrian government levied immoderate taxes on our property, on our persons, and on necessary articles; it extorted from us the means by which alone it was saved from that bankruptcy, to the brink of which it was brought by its bad and dishonestly administered financial system; it forced on us shoals of foreigners, avowed functionaries and secret spies, eating our substance, administering our affairs, judging our rights, without knowing either our language or our customs; it imposed on us foreign laws, inextricable from their multiplicity, and an intricate, endless system of proceeding in criminal cases, in which there was nothing either true or solemn except the prison and the pillory, the executioner and the gallows; it spread round us ensnaring nets of civil and ecclesiastical, military and judicial regulations, all converging to Vienna, which alone engrossed the monopoly of thought, of will, and of judgment; it forbade the development of our commerce and our industry, to favor the interests of other provinces, and of government manufactures, the speculations of Viennese oligarchs; it submitted our municipal institutions, the boast of our country and the proof of national good sense, to a petty, harassing control, conceived for fiscal purposes, and tending only to fetter us; it enslaved religion, and even public benevolence of its free course, making it subject to administrative interference, and turning it to an engine of government. It was after endless difficulties, and only after having recourse to the lowest precautions, that private individuals were permitted to help the public wants, and preserve from contagion and corruption

the poor abandoned to themselves in the streets, in their hovels, or in prison. It seized the property of minors, by forcing guardians to invest it in public securities, which were to be dealt with arbitrarily and mysteriously by secret agents of the government; it subjected the liberal arts to the most vexatious restraints; it persecuted native knowledge; it raised the most ridiculous objections and the most odious difficulties against printing or importing printed foreign books; it persecuted and entrapped our most distinguished men, and raised to honor slavish understandings; it systematized the sale of conscience, and organized an army of spies; it encouraged secret informations, and made suspicions the rule of its proceedings; it gave the police full power over liberty, life, and property, and threw the patriot into the same prison with the assassin."

The first public indication* of unanimity on the part of the Lombards, subsequent to the declared division of the rulers of Italy into those who were in favor of, and those who were opposed to reform, openly appeared when the new Archbishop of Milan took possession of his see, early in September, 1847. On this occasion the armed police were let loose on the people, who had given no other provocation than by singing hymns in praise of Pius the Ninth. The course pursued by the new Pope had revived the ancient spirit of nationality throughout the entire peninsula; and the imprudent step of the entry of the imperial troops into one of the Italian cities called that feeling into active operation, and the occupation of Ferrara was the signal for a general rising, not only in Rome, but also in Florence, Bologna, Leghorn, Lucca, and Genoa, without regard to their distinct governments, against the Emperor of Austria, and in favor of the sovereign pontiff.

The population of the Lombard and Venetian provinces were not behind hand in this national movement. Some time previous, the students at the University of Pavia and Padua had become particular objects of dislike to the Austrian officers, who attacked and murdered them in a cowardly manner. Meanwhile, the authorities of every description addressed pe-

* That of Ferrara had occurred a short time previous.

titions to the government, from which it should have taken seasonable warning. On the contrary, it continued to irritate as well as to oppress the people; and even wearing a hat of a singular shape, or a waistcoat of a peculiar cut, or dressing the hair or the beard in a certain manner, reduced the police to despair. The moment an edict was published against any remarkable fashion, another was universally adopted, equally remarkable and absurd. These, it is true, were trifles; yet the tacit agreement on both sides, by the nation and the government, not to consider them as trifles, but as symbols of grave import, ought to have opened the eyes of the Austrians, and shown them their true position.* The unanimous feeling of the Milanese was soon exhibited in a more alarming form.

Next to Rome, Milan, perhaps, is the most important city of Italy; more abundant in beautiful public buildings than Munich, and, on occasions, as animated as Paris. The circuit of its line of ramparts is nearly ten miles. Its situation is admirable for the interior commerce of Italy, communicating by canals with the Lakes Como and Maggiore, and with the River Po. One of the most striking architectural entrances to any European city is the *Arco della Pace*, on the Simplon road. One of the most superb cathedrals in the world is the well-known *Duomo*, with its hundred spires and three thousand statues, covering its exterior of florid Gothic with a marble army of saints. The *La Scala*, with one exception only, the largest theatre in Europe; the *Circo*, the most complete and stately arena; the *Corso di Porta Orientale*, the noblest promenade in Italy, or rivaled alone by the *Corso* of Naples, and then only from the view it commands of the bay. Milan abounds in charitable institutions, lyceums, and other places of education; and last, though by no means least, it possesses the celebrated Ambrosian Library. Since the peace of 1815, the population of Milan has rapidly increased, perhaps doubled, and it now exceeds 150,000.

In their opposition to the Austrian government, and with a view to diminish the revenues of the imperial treasury, the citizens of Milan determined on abstaining from all use of tobac-

* Edinburgh Review.

co. At first a circular was distributed, in which the people were reminded that the Americans, as a prelude to the war of Independence, had refused to make use of tea brought them by the English, and, in accordance with that example, all good citizens were enjoined to discard tobacco, that article being a monopoly of the Austrian government. After this resolution, not content with simply abstaining from tobacco themselves, the populace attempted to suppress its use altogether, by treating with indignity and violence all persons found smoking.

On the 3d of January, an Austrian soldier encountering such treatment, a cigar being rudely snatched from his lips while quietly promenading the streets, he instantly returned and reported at the military quarters the circumstance which had occurred. The soldiers, incensed, immediately started forth in squads (some allege that they were sent out by their commanders), and paraded the streets with cigars in their mouths, with a view, doubtless, of inducing a repetition of the insult. One of these groups had not proceeded far when they encountered the mob, and met with the treatment which they had expected; whereupon, drawing their side-arms (which alone, fortunately, they had been permitted to wear) and charging the crowd, they killed eight persons and wounded about fifty.* Nothing serious afterward transpired, though several proclamations, issued both by the emperor and the viceroy, proved ineffectual in restoring the public tranquillity.

On the 6th of February, a grand fête took place in honor of the success of the Sicilians and Neapolitans, in having exacted of their monarch a Constitution.

Upon the frequent recurrence of these popular manifestations, the police demanded of the government the *jugement statuaire*,† or immediate judgment; that is, the power to try and to hang, without delay, all in the space of *two hours*. This regulation went into effect on Shrove Tuesday, at the commencement of the Ambrosian Carnival, which, prolonged

* Agreeably to some accounts, as many as sixty-one persons were killed; six of whom were under eighteen years, five over sixty years, and one (a counselor in the Court of Appeals) seventy-four years.

† The Judicium Statuarium was signed by the emperor on the 14th of November, 1847, and not put in force until the 22d of February, 1848.

four days, constituted at Milan a brilliant fête, and made the city a rendezvous for many of the highest families of Lombardy and Piedmont. Radetzky caused the chateau to be fortified; and, under his advice, Count Spaur, the governor, and the viceroy, with his family, quitted Milan, on the 16th of March, escorted by five hundred hussars (he had previously removed all his property and effects). Terror seized the unfortunate city. Females trembled, for the situation of things became terrible; still no one dreamed of flying, as the order had been given to remain. At the same time, all the tidings which reached them from abroad tended to excite the imagination of the inhabitants. On one day it was reported that Palermo had arisen; on another, that Naples, Florence, and Turin had proclaimed a Constitution; then came the news of the Revolution in Paris. It was evident that the day of combat rapidly approached. The Austrian authorities taking no steps to repress them, the disorders daily increased. The mayor, Casati, presented himself, accompanied by a large number of respectable inhabitants, to Count Fiquelmont (the nobleman who afterward, for a short time, filled Prince Metternich's place), and "remonstrated against these abominations." Fiquelmont, who had been sent to Milan from Vienna on a special mission to soothe the Italians, told the mayor that he had only power to propose arrangements, but not to order them, and that the utmost that he and the governor, who was present at the interview, could undertake to do, was to lay the matter before Radetzky. On calling upon Radetzky, and presenting the subject to his consideration, he replied to Fiquelmont and the others, "The *injured* troops can not be restrained. If the municipal authorities will answer for the tranquillity of the inhabitants, I will keep the soldiers in their barracks for eight days." It might have been expected that the government would have taken measures to prevent such occurrences, and to protect its unarmed citizens from the violence of its troops; but such was not the case. The emperor was made to sign a letter to the Viceroy of Lombardy, the pith of which admitted of no mistake. "I perceive that there is in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom a faction inclined to overthrow the political state of the *country*. I have done all that was

necessary for the happiness and satisfaction of my Italian provinces. I am not inclined to do more. I rely on the known bravery and fidelity of my army."

This was, in so many words, approving what had happened, threatening worse for the future, and taking away all hope. It is never wise to drive a nation to extremities.

After the publication of the letter of the emperor to the viceroy, the Austrian police, at Milan, arrested a great number of persons, banished several, and obliged others to flee the country. The course of the government was impolitic in the extreme. To discover who the disaffected were, they resorted to the expedient of encouraging the citizens to petition the government against any grievance under which they might labor; and such as had the independence to do it were immediately subjected to the severe *surveillance* of the police.* Others, whose disaffection could not be proved, but whom it was thought necessary to destroy, were disposed of in the following manner, suggested by the director of the police: publications were made in foreign prints, in which it was obscurely hinted that the individual was an Austrian spy, whose endeavor it was to compromise his friends, and sell them to Austria.† At the point to which things had now advanced, the only remaining question with the people was one of expediency and time; that of right they regarded as settled. It was their right, they considered, to free themselves from a government which not only failed to protect the people under its rule, but was their greatest enemy.

The proclamation of a republic in France hastened the crisis, which the departure of the viceroy and governor, leaving the city to the tender mercies of the police and military, still more accelerated; and by the unexpected tidings of the Revolution in Vienna, the climax was precipitated.

On the evening of the 17th, a dispatch was received by the vice-governor, giving intelligence of the first outbreak in Vienna, and the excitement in Milan became intense. By daylight the next morning, placards were printed, and pasted on the corners of the streets, apprising the people of the occur-

* Nassani, deputy from the city of Bergamo to the government of Milan.

† M. Cesare Cautri, an author well known in Italy by his writings.

rences in the capital, and the concessions which had been made by the emperor. On the morning of the 18th, the *municipium* and the *congregations* (or municipal authorities), headed by the mayor, Casati, and accompanied by the Archbishop of Milan, presented to the organs of the government, assembled in the palace, petitions praying the installation of a political magistracy, under the direction of the *municipium*, the annulling of some severe laws, the liberation of political prisoners, the election of deputies, and the establishment of a National Guard.

The petitions were refused; and the excited masses stormed, upon that news, the palace of the government.

The guard on duty at the palace, alarmed at the violence of the crowd, fired one charge, as some assert, above the heads of, and not at the people. In fact, no one was wounded; but such an impression made, that, had the discharge been repeated, the multitude would have been dispersed; but, at the moment of wavering, a courageous youth, not more than sixteen, drew out a pistol and fired at the soldiery, exclaiming, at the same time, *Viva l'Italia!* The shot and the cry had a magical effect; the crowd rushed forward, and in one moment the guard was overpowered, O'Donnell made prisoner, and the tricolor banner placed on the balcony of the hotel. O'Donnell, being convinced that further opposition was useless, drew up an order of the day establishing a National Guard, and agreed to accompany the *podesta* and the people to the municipality, for the purpose of having it countersigned and published by that body. No sooner, however, had he and the *podesta* left the hotel, than a strong patrol-guard of Croats was seen advancing, who, without one word of explanation, discharged their pieces, and killed several persons. The crowd did not fly; but, every person rushing into the houses at each side of the street, flew to the upper windows and roofs, and in one instant a storm of tiles, pokers, tables, and every missile that could be laid hold of, fell on the heads of the devoted Croats. The effect, as described by an eye-witness, must have been ludicrous. No sooner did these savage troops, who, in regular array, would face a battery, feel the weight of the falling tiles, than they broke, abandoned their ranks, and rapidly dispersed.

The rest of the story has been told. Radetzky hesitated;

and, instead of sending all his force to clear the streets, withdrew his men within their respective barracks; and by the time he had made up his mind, the affair was decided, the city barricaded, and it was impossible to retake it without a bombardment.

In order to appease the assailing mass, some printed placards had been issued, but no effect was produced, until a proclamation, hastily published, without legal form, was circulated, in which the establishment of a provisional government and the abolition of the police were declared. The rest of the day, and the night between the 18th and 19th, was principally devoted to the construction of barricades throughout the city, in which the first and richest citizens of Milan were engaged, giving advice, and distributing money and provisions among the lower classes, and fanning the glimmering spark into a flame. The enthusiasm was universal. Those who had no fire-arms to defend the barricades with, provided themselves with all sorts of missiles to throw on the soldiers from the roofs of the houses. Alarmed by the tocsin, which sounded from all parts, occupied, at the same time, with the necessary task of keeping open their communications, and especially of saving the residences of the officers in the city, as well as the families of German *employées*, the Austrian army could not accomplish all that the exigency required. Many important objects were overlooked; and two millions of francs in silver, deposited in the military chests of different bureaus, were forgotten. Even the venerable Radetzky, in the utmost haste, scarcely saved himself, leaving behind his waistcoat and his sword, which had served in so many battles. The chateau, or castle, became his refuge. This massive square building formed the centre of an ancient fortress, of which Napoleon had razed the exterior polygon, so that it now remained separated from the town by a vast esplanade. From thence, and by the bastions which commanded the city and the neighboring country, Radetzky surrounded Milan with the two wings of his army. At each barrier he had placed a mass of troops and of artillery, and advanced his men by the largest and most direct streets to the heart of the city, where he held possession, for three days, of the Cathedral, the Royal Palace, the Palace of Justice, of Marine, the Police, the Hôtel

de Ville, and many of the military barracks. The Tyrolian riflemen, posted upon the marble needles of the Cathedral, amused themselves in shooting, at hazard, the men and women as they passed in the streets, and even in the interior of the houses which they thus overlooked.

The parts of the city where the insurrection had made the greatest progress were not at all in communication with each other—that which, by mere chance, contained the head-quarters of the mayor, having the form of a horse-shoe, extended by the two streets of Monte and Durino; from thence they developed themselves in all directions, and, being wide and thinly-populated streets, difficult to barricade and to defend, were consequently commanded by the fire of the troops. During the first night the head-quarters were not protected on the side of the Porta Nuova, except by two feeble barricades and by about sixty young men, who formed themselves into five sections, and who underwent the drill during the whole night to prepare themselves for the combat of the ensuing day, scarcely half of them having ever fired a gun. It was calculated that, during the first night, there was not in line more than from three to four hundred guns of every description, many families having previously sent their arms into the country, to avoid delivering them up to the police. At eight o'clock in the evening, Radetzky summoned the municipality to disarm the National Guard. "Unless this is done," said he, "to-morrow I will resort to bombardment, sack, and all the other means of reducing a rebellious city, having at my disposition a drilled army of one hundred thousand men and two hundred pieces of cannon."

He also ordered General Wohlgemuth, who commanded the troops of that circle, to take the barricades by storm, whereupon the government palace was reoccupied. Meanwhile the engagement had begun throughout the city. From all the windows the inhabitants commenced firing upon the troops, and throwing upon them all sorts of projectiles from the roofs of the houses. General Rath, who proceeded to the interior of the city to occupy the *Place* and the main government offices, had to fight for every barricade. The troops, however, took them all, and arrived at their different destinations. The

evening approached, the fight in the streets, or rather, as Marshal Radetzky said, "the firing upon our troops had already continued for six hours," when the field-marshal concluded to take the building of the municipality at all hazards, and to destroy, if possible, the principal nerve of the revolt by seizing the provisional government. The engagement continued four hours, as the position was defended with great obstinacy by the people. At length, the carpenters ordered to destroy the gates of the building being killed or wounded as fast as they approached, Marshal Radetzky determined to force the gates by means of twelve-pounders, in which he succeeded, carrying off two hundred and fifty prisoners, among them many persons of the highest rank, who had gone there to enlist. The prisoners and arms found in the building were forwarded to the castle. After the capture of the Hôtel de Ville, at ten o'clock, the streets were cleared of people, and tranquillity restored for the night. Sincerely concerned on account of the feeble means of defense with which the city was provided, and especially the exposed situation of the mansion Vidiserti, now become the head-quarters of the provisional government, and whose members might, like the persons who had gone to the *Hôtel de Ville* to enlist, be taken prisoners, the quarters of the government were changed to the mansion of Count Charles Taverna, a house sufficiently large, and not distant from that of Vidiserti. To reach it one had only to cross the Bigli, a street narrow and winding, and which could be easily barricaded. The garden of this mansion communicated with many other gardens, and the front of it being surrounded, there would be time sufficient, in case of danger, to escape to another point.

The key of the grating which opened opposite to the house of Manzoni was obtained, and a hole constructed in the wall of the garden of Belgiojoso, and sentinels placed upon the walls of the other gardens. The mansion Vidiserti became thence a kind of advanced redoubt, behind which were traced many successive lines of defense, with sure points of retreat. These dispositions were taken a few moments before the first rays of day appeared. A moment after, the sound of the tocsin was heard, followed by the cry "To arms!"

It was apprehended by the leaders of the insurgents that the reflections of the night might chill the ardor and dampen the spirits of the people, but these apprehensions were soon dispelled, as they were now seen rushing with enthusiasm to the barricades.

Sunday, 19th March.—In conformity with the phrase, "There are no Sabbaths in revolutions," the next morning the firing was renewed on both sides with the greatest obstinacy. The feebly-armed citizens had a severe task in opposing, with any effect, the regular troops, who still occupied the castle, the barracks, archducal palace, and other important positions, from whence was maintained a well-directed fire against the opposite houses; while the artillery, placed at the head of the several leading *corsos*, and keeping up a heavy discharge, endeavored to batter down the formidable barriers constructed across every street. Fortunately, however, for the people, the communication was maintained by the insurgents in the whole interior of the city, and the sharp-shooters, creeping from house to house, got eventually within reach of the soldiers who served the guns, and brought them down one after another. It was quite remarkable to see the intelligence and ingenuity evinced by those brave sportsmen in mastering the fire of disciplined Austrian troops. The narrowest door-way afforded cover, a few fagots concealed an advance, until the troops were driven back, not knowing from whence they were attacked, and on the ground they retired from, a barricade was immediately thrown up; the most costly furniture, bureaus, damask sofas, and even pianos, which the enthusiastic ladies most liberally contributed for the purpose, were employed in their construction, and the same system of annoyance again established.

As the ardor of the people increased, the moral courage of the troops became weakened, and at several points important posts were carried almost without combat. The general enthusiasm effected wonders. All houses were opened to receive the wounded, and to afford assistance to the struggling inhabitants. Even women and children labored in bearing to the tops of their houses stones, tiles, and other projectiles, to be thrown from thence on the heads of the devoted troops. The

defense was conducted on the principle of mere instinct, and the people fought for the whole of that day as they had done on the preceding—without leaders, without direction—by a common accord in what each said, "He can not do wrong who brings down an Austrian." In the evening, general joy seemed to prevail on account of the successful resistance of the inhabitants; but, the city being again threatened with a bombardment, the Consul General of France assembled the other consuls, and, after a brief deliberation, addressed to Marshal Radetzky a "protest," in the names of their respective governments "against an act of such unnecessary violence."

20th March.—On the 20th the fighting was continued with unabated fury, and on both sides many victims fell. About two thousand barricades arose in different parts of the city. Carriages, omnibuses, and post-chaises upset; tables, boards, boxes filled with earth; large flagstones; in short, all things that could be used to form a barrier, were amassed together, and strong traces and heavy chains placed before them. And, as all these bulwarks were instantly manned by the brave people, whose blood was now thoroughly excited, the idea of the city's being obliged to capitulate to the force possessed by Radetzky seemed now at an end. The marshal continued to fire from the castle, and several people were killed by the cannonade; in like manner, the fire was kept up from the gates of the city, still occupied by the troops. By a glance at the plan of the city, it will be observed that an open space exists within the walls as well as outside. By that space the Imperial Generals Wohlgemuth and Clamm (unable longer to retain their posts in the interior of the city) kept up their communications; but their men were constantly picked off by the people, who fired from under cover of houses within, and from behind hedges and ditches without the walls. All the efforts of the people to get possession of the gates having as yet proved abortive, they were unable to receive any external assistance. The correspondence with the country was, however, kept up in an ingenious manner, by means of little balloons: letters and proclamations were dispatched in these ærial messengers, with entreaties to the persons among whom the balloons fell to see to their delivery. As the letters were sure to fall into friendly

hands, whichever way the wind carried the balloons, the commissions were faithfully executed. By these means, the people of the environs were invoked to take up arms, and to come to the relief of the city. They were enjoined, also, to destroy the roads leading to Verona and Mantua, so as to prevent the arrival of re-enforcements, which Marshal Radetzky might call for. Warned in this manner, the people flocked from all sides; if they were not strong enough to force the gates, kept up a constant fire on the patrols and soldiers who appeared on the bastions, and rendered the continuation of Radetzky's system impossible.

On this day, Marshal Radetzky replied to the protest of the foreign consuls, in substance, that the troops under his command had been attacked by the citizens without any notice or provocation whatever; that the people, by breaking into and sacking the *Hôtel de Ville* and *du Gouvernement*, exacted of the official chief (after killing the feeble guard placed there for his protection) what it was not in his power to subscribe to, and which alone were the attributes of the government. "It depends, gentlemen," said the marshal, "on your influence with the chiefs of the revolutionary government, to induce them to abstain from any further acts of hostility; for, as long as I am attacked and my soldiers killed under my eyes, I shall defend myself with the courage which is mainly inspired by the manner in which we have been attacked, and by a proper sentiment of duty to my troops. Nevertheless, out of respect to the several governments, of which you are the organs, I am willing to suspend the execution of the rigorous measures which I mean to take against Milan until to-morrow, the 21st, on condition that the same reserve will be exercised by the opposite party. I await the result of your intervention before I commence the renewal of my operations."

From this reply, it seemed evident that, as early as the 20th, after only two days' fighting, Radetzky would gladly have come to any arrangement which would have been consistent with his reputation; and the consuls felt their position was changed, and that, instead of asking favors from the marshal, that they were called on by him to use their influence, for his sake, with the leaders of the revolt. The consuls accordingly

addressed Radetzky a dispatch, at eight o'clock in the evening, informing him that they had consulted the municipal authorities, and requested an interview with the marshal, to communicate the results of their negotiations. To which Radetzky replied by a communication, dated two A.M., and affixing an interview for seven o'clock the next morning.

21st March.—In consequence of this note, the consuls went to the castle, but they did so at the risk of their lives, as several shots were fired at them through mistake. The Consul General of France, as spokesman, explained, at some length, that the troops, and not the people, at the Hôtel de Ville first commenced the firing; and then, after going into the immediate object of their visit, the interview was closed by a proposition of Marshal Radetzky, of an armistice of three days, provided the heads of the movement acceded to the arrangement.

The consuls next visited the Provisional Government (which had by this time been formed), and though at first the leaders were inclined to accept the armistice, yet, on a remark being made that a revolution once commenced should never be interrupted until full success was obtained, the proposal was definitely rejected, and the consuls communicated the result to the marshal in a note of that day. When it was known that the armistice was refused, the inhabitants of Milan began to fear for their houses and property, and something like depression was visible; but in a few hours the gloom cleared off, every one hurried to his post, with gun, sword, stick, or any offensive weapon he could procure; and, from that hour, the favorable termination of the struggle was assured. The people soon, by a vigorous assault, possessed themselves of the palace of the viceroy and the Duomo, on which they hoisted the Italian tricolor. The general Prefecture of Police fell into the hands of the people, who pillaged it. The family of the Director General, Torresani, and the famous Count Bolza, so abhorred by the Milanese, were captured in that hotel, but their persons were respected, and they were conducted as hostages to the Boromeo Palace. At that time, the only public edifice still held by the troops was the hotel of the commander-in-chief,

which, owing to the brisk cannonading, all the efforts of the people to take possession of it had proved fruitless.

22d March.—Again, on the morning of the 22d, the fight was renewed more vigorously than ever. The Milanese, seconded by the people from the country, who had hastened to their assistance, attacked the gates; but a formidable artillery baffled all their efforts. The troops, having been always masters of the gates, had cut off all provisions from the city. Beef was already fifty cents per pound. The walls were, however, escaladed by emissaries, who informed the Milanese that Pavia and Bergamo were in full insurrection, and that the son of the viceroy had been captured. At length, on the evening of the fifth day's fighting, the citizens, protected by the ingenious contrivance of a movable barricade, advanced deliberately on one of the gates, the Porta Tosa. A set of brave young fellows made up bundles of fascines, which they rolled before them, firing from the shelter thus afforded, while a flanking fire, from the houses on each side, covered their advance. In this way, after long-protracted efforts, the artillerymen were picked off one by one, until, at last, a dash was made, and, all sorts of combustibles being prepared, the gate and the houses covering it were set fire to, and in a moment all were enveloped in flames. Several ladies, from a distant balcony, witnessed this advance; and it was said that each time an Austrian was brought down they clapped their hands as at the theatre, and gave *vivas* for the lucky marksman; but when the aim was wrong, and no mischief done, they saluted the failure with a general hiss. A communication with the country was now opened. Another gate was soon carried—that of Como—by armed peasants from Lecco, and the main body of the troops driven, from all points, into the castle. Intelligence was received, from the persons who now poured into the city, that the Piedmontese forces on the Ticino were increasing, had crossed the river at several points, and that, from the Swiss frontier, particularly from the Valteline, armed peasants, amounting to ten thousand, invaded the country, and that the whole Lombardian territory was in open insurrection. Radetzky had thought to draw all the detached garrisons to Milan, and to attack the city on every side; but all communications

were interrupted; single couriers were shot, and greater divisions met with overwhelming difficulties on the roads, and in the towns through which they attempted to pass. He ordered up the brigade Mauer, stationed in Magenta, and that of Strasaldo, from Sarano (with which points the communications were still open), to join his forces in Milan. This order was effected; but, while the embarrassments of his situation increased with every moment that transpired, the veteran marshal continued the struggle with redoubled energy. The generals, Wohlgemuth and Clamm, still protected their communications by destroying with artillery all the buildings touching the ramparts. "The troops," said Marshal Radetzky, in his official report, "fought well; they are really admirable; they effect more than possibilities, and are in fine spirits, although they have had no rest for four days, and part of the time encountered the most dreadful weather."

On the evening of the 22d, the marshal—in consequence of the highly excited state of the population in the city, the volunteers flocking in from all quarters, the disastrous news from Padua, Venice, and other points, evincing that the whole country was in a state of revolt, especially that a considerable force was approaching from Switzerland, and that the King of Piedmont, with a most formidable army, had already crossed the frontier—came to the conclusion that it would be impossible for him to retain any longer his position in that city. It was to the Austrian army a dreadful resolution; but there was no alternative: Milan must be evacuated. Accordingly, on that night the following order was issued, signed by the field-marshal. "Soldiers! the treachery of our allies, the fury of an enraged people, and the scarcity of provisions, oblige me to abandon this city of Milan, for the purpose of taking position on another line, from which, at your head, I can return to victory." As soon as it grew dark, all the troops were concentrated on the *Place d'Armes*, and immediate preparations for departure made. The march through the gates and over the ramparts of the city, amid the terrible cross-fire of the enemy, it was anticipated would be perilous in the extreme. In fact, the Milanese suspecting the contemplated retreat of Radetzky, every nook and corner on both sides of the way, on the line

of his exit, were filled by sharp-shooters, who, from their safe and unsuspected retreats, could direct their deadly aim upon the troops. Every cellar, window, and roof of each house in the town, was crowded with marksmen, and through the suburbs and outskirts every tree was occupied by armed peasants.

To protect his retreat, Radetzky ordered the constant discharge of his sixty cannons, by which many dwellings were set fire to in the extremities of the city. The burning houses spread a lurid light over the dark horizon. Suddenly, an immense volume of smoke issued from the midst of the castle. The Austrians had set fire to large quantities of straw, hay, wagons, and furniture; not, as some of the Milanese supposed, to consume their dead, but, more probably, for the purpose of distracting attention from their retreat. While the noise of the cannonade, and the light of the conflagration, were absorbing the attention of the population, the troops, with their flanks protected by numerous *tirailleurs*, abandoned the castle and began to defile through the narrow passages of the bastions. The march through the ramparts was accomplished in good order, as quickly as possible, but under the greatest obstacles. Carrying, as Radetzky was obliged to do, all his artillery and ammunition, his wounded, more than three hundred families of Austrian officers and *employées*, the unfortunate prisoners whom he had taken as hostages, and some thousands of Italian soldiers whose fidelity he mistrusted, eight hours were necessary to disengage his troops from the double-circle fire, which was, during every moment of the time, discharged upon them.

The Italian regiments had behaved well during the engagement, but now exhibited some reluctance at quitting their country under the lead of "foreigners." In difficult passages, where their desertion was feared, cannons were directed against them, and, at the smallest sign of hesitation, the officers in command cried out the terrible words, "March on, or you are dead men!" To excite the inhabitants and intimidate the troops the alarm-bells were sounded from the sixty steeples of Milan. On several occasions, when too heavily pressed, the troops, fell into confusion, they stopped and reformed their columns amid the most terrific fire. At the Porta Comasina it

was attempted to prevent their passage; but the troops, by a desperate effort, overwhelmed all resistance. As they passed the Porta Tosa the environs were one uninterrupted sea of fire. It was long after midnight when the rear-guard evacuated its position on the ramparts, from which it had protected the egress of the troops. The retreat succeeded completely; and, in comparison with the danger and difficulty of the task, the loss was small. It was one of the sad master-strokes of the art of war, in which the energy of the general and the unsubdued courage of his troops can not but be admired.

After the terrible fighting for five days, the number of killed was incredibly small. As reported by the Milanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the loss on the part of the Austrians was seven hundred, that of the Italians, two hundred and fifty. Some Italian writers place Radetzky's loss in killed and wounded as high as four thousand.* The loss of the troops was vastly greater than that of the Milanese, owing to the exposed position of the former, and the protected points occupied by the latter. The loss of property was considerable. Besides the destruction of isolated buildings at various points, and the extensive conflagration at the extremities of the city, two streets, from the windows of which the enraged citizens were pouring down boiling oil and pitch upon the troops, were so completely demolished as to present one uninterrupted mass of ruins.†

* Author of "Custoza."

† Many instances of cruelty are said to have been perpetrated by the Croats during the struggle. Women, it was said, were violated, men cut down, and houses set on fire. A poor child was nailed to the door of a house where the entrance of the soldiers was at first resisted. In one place, the bodies of five women, half burned, were found; and even in a house near the castle, the corpses of women, with their faces horribly disfigured, were exposed. The hand of a lady, with several rings on it, was hid in the pocket of a Croat prisoner; and limbs of women, separated from the bodies, which had been burned or buried, were discovered near the gates. Even Radetzky himself, though incapable of countenancing these horrors, is not quite guiltless of acts of perfidy which entailed a great deal of personal suffering on his victims, and caused the despair of several noble families, in having seized as prisoners at the *Hôtel de Ville*, on the 18th, the hundred and fifty gentlemen who went there to enroll themselves as National Guards under the proclamation of O'Donnell and the podesta. These prisoners suffered every privation for four days, and at last seventeen of them were carried off. The Milanese, on the other hand, are said to have treated their prisoners with all imaginable lenity. O'Donnell, Balza (the detested instrument of the police),

Having with great difficulty accomplished his retreat from Milan, Marshal Radetzky determined to retire to Lodi; but in this his progress was slow, as barricades had been thrown up, and the road dug away in a number of places, which with difficulty the van-guard succeeded in restoring before the arrival of the main body. On reaching Molignano in the course of the day (23d), that insignificant town had the assurance to order the troops to lay down their arms, and actually seized and imprisoned the interpreting officer, Colonel Count Wratislaw. The bridge over the Lambro being also destroyed, this handful of men kept the Austrian army in check for an entire day. As soon as the bridge was restored, Marshal Radetzky, approaching within shot of the town, immediately ordered its bombardment; and, amid a general conflagration, stormed the village, and rescued the imprisoned imperial officer. No further resistance was offered the army; the severe chastisement inflicted on the presumptuous little town of Molignano prevented the recurrence of similar attempts. The Archduke Ernest had succeeded in keeping Lodi in submission, and the field-marshal, having reached that city, there paused to give repose to his exhausted troops.

INVASION OF CHARLES ALBERT.

It was the maxim of one of the early princes of the house of Savoy, and constantly held in view by his descendants, that Lombardy ought to be considered as an artichoke, to be eaten leaf by leaf; but it was the fancy of Charles Albert that he had an appetite sufficient to devour the whole plant at once. Lombardy has been under the dominion of the house of Austria for three centuries (from the death of Charles the Fifth); and, since the peace of Utrecht, has been positively assured to that dynasty by all Europe, and therefore is not a dominion which the King of Sardinia could regard as usurped by the house of Austria. Lombardy, too, had been confirmed to Aus-

the wife of Torresani (the intendant of the police), Count Thun, nephew of Count Fiquelmont, and a large body of counselors, against whom the people had many complaints, were lodged in the first palaces of the city, and most strictly and honorably attended to.[1]

[1] Correspondent of the London Times.

tria, by the treaty of Vienna, in 1815; by which compact the King of Sardinia holds a large portion of his own possessions; a treaty by which Genoa was stripped of her independence, her republic extinguished, and her territory placed under the rule of the house of Savoy. In a note dispatched on the 8th of February, 1848, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Turin, to the imperial embassador at that court, announcing that the King of Sardinia had determined to grant a constitution to his subjects, appears the following passage: "The king is desirous that his majesty, the Emperor of Austria, will accept the assurance that the maintenance of treaties shall be in the future, as it has been in the past, the basis of his policy; and that, in calling his subjects to take part in the internal government of the kingdom, far from rendering his relations with foreign powers more difficult, it will only bind more closely the ties of friendship between the two states." The official declarations of the Sardinian government, on other occasions, and even as late as the 22d of March, were marked by the same sentiments. It seems astonishing, however, that the royal censorship should have allowed journals not only to make the most violent attacks against Austria, but even direct appeals, and excitations to revolt, addressed to the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The multiplied remonstrances of the imperial government obtained only sterile expressions of regret, fresh assurances of friendship, and excuses founded on the difficulties arising from the pressure of circumstances. During the time when the continual armaments of Sardinia were the more calculated to call the attention of the imperial government to the fact, the Sardinian authorities replied that they were caused by the fermentation of all Italy, and of Sardinia itself; and that they absolutely had no offensive character.

Scarcely had the news of the glorious events which had occurred at Milan on the 18th reached Turin, when some Milanese, who had previously fled to that city, hastened to his majesty, the King of Sardinia, and invoked his assistance, which, as they urged, they had a right to expect, "as Italians, from their Italian brethren, and from the heroic intrepidity of their revolt against the common enemy of all Italy." To this en-

treaty of the Milanese patriots an answer was given, "that it was impossible for the government of his majesty to undertake the initiative of a military subsidy in Lombardy without a direct demand on the part of the people of Milan." This intelligence, notwithstanding the many difficulties and dangers which impeded entrance to the city, was immediately conveyed to, and reached Milan on the morning of the 21st.* The satisfaction with which it was accepted by the provisional government may easily be imagined; and a mission was immediately organized for the purpose of conveying to the King of Piedmont the sense of gratitude which was felt, and the expression of a fervent hope that he would not delay in coming to their aid. Previously, however, to the arrival of this mission, a corps of volunteers for the invasion of Lombardy had been decreed at Turin, and into which foreigners were to be admitted. The Austrian embassador at Turin considered it his duty to demand, without delay, whether the subjects of his master, the emperor, were also to be permitted to enlist. To this interrogatory the Sardinian minister, the Marquis Pareto, returned an evasive and insufficient answer, but concluded as follows: "The undersigned, after having answered the note of Count Bual, hastens to add, that he will do all that depends upon him to insure the relations of amity and good neighborhood between the two states." Such was the tone of the official organ of the Sardinian government on the 22d of March.

On the same, or, at furthest, on the succeeding day, King Charles Albert convoked a cabinet council, to consider the expediency of marching an armed force to the assistance of the Milanese; and the following proclamation, issued on the 23d (just a day after the amicable assurances above stated), was the result of their deliberations:

"Charles Albert, by the grace of God, King of Sardinia Cyprus, and Jerusalem. People of Lombardy and Venice The destinies of Italy are maturing; a happier fate awaits the intrepid defenders of inculcated rights. From affinity of race,

* Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Milan to the inhabitants of Lombardy.

from intelligence of the age, from community of feeling, we, the first, have joined in that unanimous admiration which Italy manifests toward you. People of Lombardy and Venice! Our arms, which were already concentrated on your frontier when you anticipated the liberation of glorious Milan, now come to offer you, in your further trials, that aid which a brother expects from a brother—a friend from a friend.' We will second your just desires, confiding in the aid of that God who is visibly with us—of that God who has given to Italy a Pius IX.—of that God who, by such wonderful impulse, has given to Italy the power of acting alone. And, that the sentiment of the Italian union may be further demonstrated, we command that our troops, on entering the territory of Lombardy and Venice, shall bear the escutcheon of Savoy on the tricolored flag of Italy. CHARLES ALBERT."

Upon these developments, the imperial embassador at Turin immediately demanded and obtained his passports; and, as soon as the tidings of these occurrences reached Vienna, the Sardinian minister at that court left the Austrian capital.*

The King of Sardinia, in a council of ministers, had previously decided to call out immediately the two classes of recruits necessary for filling up the ranks of the army, in active service; to send to the frontier all the regiments of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; to accept the generous offers of individuals, of horses for transport, and voluntary contributions for the victualing of the army; to order the army of reserve to hold itself in readiness to march at the first notice; and to open a voluntary but temporary loan, at five per cent., for immediate expenses.

On the 26th, a portion of the Piedmontese troops, under General Bes (five thousand in number), entered Milan. Another division of the same army (the advance-guard, eight thousand in number), under General Trotti, penetrating Lombardy at a point lower down, passed through Lodi on the 28th, and established themselves at Crema; while the king, Charles

* According to official information, the Austrian coat-of-arms were torn down by the populace from the residence of the embassador at Turin, as well as of the consul at Genoa.

Albert, with the main body of the army (forty thousand strong), following the course of the Po, passed through Pavia on the 29th, and reached Lodi on the 30th, where he issued a proclamation to his army, "congratulating them on having marched one hundred and ten miles in seventy-two hours, and expressing his joy that Lombardy and Venice had called on him to expel the Austrians from their territory."

On the 26th, the Provisional Government of Milan published a proclamation, announcing a convention concluded with the Piedmontese government, in virtue of which the Piedmontese troops will act in concert with the Milanese as their faithful allies, the expense of provisions to be at the charge of Milan, and the pay of the troops to be at the charge of the Sardinian government. Ten thousand Roman and seven thousand Tuscans were at this time marching to the Po, by Bologna and Ferrara. The Neapolitan government, about the same time, dispatched fifteen thousand men to the scene of action, twelve thousand to be conveyed by sea to Ancona, and three thousand to cross the Pope's dominions, and join the others on the frontiers of Lombardy.

"It is not a little remarkable that these Italian powers should so readily have committed themselves," to use the language of Lord Aberdeen, "in having violated the public law of Europe, and entering the territory of a neighboring, a friendly, and an allied power, without the slightest pretext of grievance, without any provocation, without any complaint or any reason assigned whatsoever, and in direct violation of engagements by which they were bound;" especially when their efforts, if successful, would end in their own downfall. But the truth was, these monarchs were doubly forced into the positions which they found themselves compelled to assume. In the first place, they were driven to it by their own subjects; ever since the struggle commenced between the Lombardians and the imperial government, the people throughout all Italy had urged their respective monarchs in vain to the assistance of the insurgents; and when the tidings of the success of the Milanese and their repulse of the imperial troops arrived, their demands became irresistible, and the immediate compliance on the part of these monarchs became as necessary as the preservation of

their own thrones. In the next place, the Italian monarchs felt themselves forced to this step in defense of the constitutional governments which they had recently established, and their own position at the head of them, by the conviction that, unless they afforded assistance to the struggling Lombardians, there would be no alternative left the insurgents but to proclaim a republic and throw themselves into the arms of France, and that government, it was thought, would not have hesitated to consider, agreeably to the address of Lamartine, that the time for the reconstruction of this oppressed nationality had arrived; and, with Lombardy a republic, it would have followed, "as surely as the day to night," that all Italy would have become republican also, and have hurled these monarchs from their thrones.

In the mean time, the whole Lombardo-Venitian kingdom and its vicinity seemed to be in open rebellion: in the language of the proclamation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, "the period for the regeneration of all Italy had arrived."

Venice, the proud city of the Lagoons, upon the receipt of the news of the revolution in Vienna, immediately threw off imperial authority, and declared a republic. In Parma and Modena, the dukes had fled, and the governments given up or consigned to the hands of the people. Throughout all the towns of the Lombardo-Venitian kingdom, with the exception of Verona, Mantua, and Peschiera (where were formidable Austrian fortresses, and where the troops, by retiring into the citadels, preserved their positions), the power fell into the hands of the people, and the imperial troops were either suffered to depart or were taken prisoners. At Brescia, the Austrian garrison, after the arrest of General Shoubals, two colonels, and fifty-three officers of different grades, were compelled to leave the place; but the route of their departure not having been indicated, they marched and joined Radetzky at Crema. At Bergamo, the eight hundred Austrians stationed there retired, on the outbreak, to their barracks, and prepared to defend themselves; a deputation of citizens, calling on them to deliver up their arms on being granted an unmolested retreat, were seized and imprisoned; and the citizens, from regard to the deputation, were obliged to compromise for their release by suffering the

soldiers to depart *with* their arms. At Como (a provisional government was formed, which published a proclamation, dated 23d March, ordering all functionaries to be retained in their respective offices, but the arms of Austria and the title of "imperial and royal" to be every where effaced) all the barracks, with one exception, were in the hands of the people, twelve thousand men were disarmed, and their weapons distributed among the people, who hurried to the assistance of the Milanese. In Varese, the troops wished to withdraw without resistance, when the insurrection commenced, but the people would not permit it, and two hundred Croats and a detachment of huzzars were compelled to surrender. At Lodi and Cremona, sanguinary combats took place, which resulted in the triumph of the people. Similar occurrences took place at Pavia and Dezensano. At Pizzighettone, the garrison surrendered, and the fortress and ten pieces of cannon were taken. The garrison at Piacenza was compelled to evacuate the castle. In the towns of Udine, Treviso, and Padua, in the Venetian kingdom, the imperial troops were permitted to leave under capitulations.

PROCEEDINGS IN MILAN.

All fears of Field-marshal Radetzky's return being at an end, a superior and disciplined force now pursuing him, all the barricades in Milan were rapidly removed,* and the city began to resume once more its former prosperous aspect. While the Provisional Government was actively engaged in issuing proclamations to arouse the inhabitants, raising levies, and dis-

* "The barriers are being actively demolished, and, while nobles at one end claim their magnificent carriages, a good housewife at the other asks for the kitchen table, which she contributed for the same patriotic purpose. The managers of the *Scala*, and the other theatres, are looking for their benches, and the *malle-poste* and diligence owners are entreating that the heaps of straw and manure stuffed in at their doors and windows shall be removed. In one place, a crowd of honest women are disputing the right of ownership to several mattresses and feather beds which had been exposed, in the common cause of the country, to the last week's rain; and, in another, the green-grocer and the oil-man, alternately laying hold of a counter which the cloth-dealer finally carries off. The only things unclaimed were the sentry-boxes of the Austrians, which, in these strange days, had been employed to exclude the very men they were constructed to shelter."[1]

[1] London Times.

patching them as rapidly as possible in pursuit of the fleeing enemy, the people were engaged in the more solemn occupation of paying the last sad honors to their fallen countrymen. The funeral service for the "victims of the five days," is represented as one of the most sublime and splendid ceremonies ever witnessed; and those who are familiar with the magnificent interior of the Duomo, and with the magnitude of the open space before it, will admit that a more suitable *locale* for a festival of that nature can scarcely be found. The whole interior of the cathedral was hung in black, a mourning pile being raised in the centre, on which numerous inscriptions appeared, commemorating the death of the victims, and insuring immortality to their names. A profusion of wax lights rendered "the darkness visible," and brought into full view the innumerable banners which were pendant from the columns and from every part of the roof. The floor of the temple was covered with green cloth, and seats were placed for the use of the privileged classes; but the whole body of the building was thronged with people of all ranks, who took part in the proceedings with that order and propriety which distinguishes the Milanese. The effect was grand, when the solemn sound of the colossal organ was heard united with the voices of a hundred choristers, and when the people outside took up the hymn, and made the *plaza*, as well as the church, re-echo to the strain. A procession of the archbishops and a long train of ecclesiastics also had a fine effect; and the ceremony was rendered still more awful by the appearance in the deepest mourning of the relatives of the deceased, and by the sobs which seemed to burst against their will from the bosoms of the most afflicted. The Provisional Government, all the newly-appointed authorities, and the foreign consuls, preceded by a long flight of banners, were introduced with similar forms, as well as a procession of charitable ladies, who were employed in raising a subscription for the families of those who had fallen in the patriotic cause. However grand the ceremony within the church, aided as it was by the effect of the solemn draperies, the immense columns, the arched roof, the stained windows, the monumental sculpture, all brought into relief by the flame of a thousand wax-lights—it was not to be compared to the

exhibition offered in the *plaza* before the Duomo, where the whole population of Milan appeared, as if by a miracle, to have found room. A mourning pyramid, with suitable inscriptions, had been raised in the centre, and a proper space about it was preserved by the National Guard, who, dressed in their becoming costume of black velvet, with Tyrolese hats, performed public duty for the first time. All the houses of the square, the windows and balconies, were hung with black, and every spot where human forms could be introduced was filled with ladies clad in mourning, whose picturesque appearance, all in sable vails, instead of bonnets, as is their custom in Milan, rendered them by no means the least attractive part of the ceremony. From every window streamed the tricolor ribbon, and the contrast between these gay tints and the deep mourning in which the houses and the people were arrayed, was most striking and impressive. The solemn enthusiasm of the people of Milan on this occasion can not be justly described. No language can do justice to the religious sentiment which appeared to dictate all they said and did. Persons of rank, and those of the humblest life, were equally elevated in feeling, and the fervor of the popular voice was tempered with a devotional gravity worthy of the best days of ancient Rome.

MOVEMENTS OF RADETZKY.

The original plan of Field-marshal Radetzky was to take position behind the Adda, to concentrate there all disposable troops, to open communications with the great fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, and Verona in his rear, and then to march back and retake Milan; but the general insurrections which had occurred in all the towns of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, together with extensive desertions of Italian troops* at various posts, caused this plan to be abandoned. Accordingly, Radetzky left Lodi, and marched to Crema, and there, on the 25th of March, issued the following proclamation:

"The events of Milan and other towns have induced me to concentrate my forces, and to draw nearer to the focus of my

* The regiment Albert and the third Ceccopieri deserted at Cremona, and the regiment Haugwitz in Brescia

military operations and of my resources. The peaceful inhabitants have nothing to dread, and will meet with protection for their persons and property; they are warned, however, not to offer any opposition to the march of the imperial and royal troops. I shall cause the severest discipline to be observed; whoever is taken with arms in his hands shall be judged by a military commission, and, upon conviction, be immediately shot. The tried fidelity of the army I command, and the numerous troops that compose it, will answer for the fulfillment of my present declarations."

From thence, retreating across the Adda, he proceeded with his forces to Orcinuovo and Laucino, and there, on the 30th of March, halted on the banks of the Oglio. From want of provisions in the fortress, the Austrians were obliged to abandon the intention, subsequently entertained, of throwing themselves into Mantua, with the exception of a portion under General Walmoden.

The Piedmontese general, Bes, captured about this time, it is said, a detached corps of Austrians at Chiari, a small town one day's march from Brescia, on the road to Milan.

General Ancioni arrived at Brescia on the 30th of March, at the head of a column of Milanese, to re-enforce General Monti, who had preceded him to that point. The Piedmontese column under Bes also directed its movements to the same point. The first legion of Lombardy left Milan on the same day for Antignate.*

On the night of the 4th, the Austrians evacuated Monte Chiaro, Castiglione delle Steviere, and Lonato, and took the

* On entering the territory of Lombardy, the King of Piedmont declared that he was actuated by no other ambition than a desire to aid the independence of Italy. He found the population in a strange temper: they received the Piedmontese as brothers, and loaded them with praises, but appeared to regard their intervention as a matter of slight utility, after the retreat of Radetzky. The deputies from Milan, who came to salute him at Pavia, on his entrance into Lombardy, represented that the Austrian troops were in full flight, and incapable of the slightest resistance; that they had crossed the Alps; and vauntingly spoke of pursuing him there, and conquering Illyria, Istria, and Dalmatia, the ancient possessions of Italy. But on passing through Lodi, and coming up with their vanguard at Crema, on the 1st of April, they discovered, on the contrary, that Radetzky's army, in good order, had concentrated, and occupied the plain of Monte Chiaro.

roads to Verona and Mantua. On the same day that the Austrians were crossing the Mincio, the Sardinian army crossed the Oglio. On the 5th its head-quarters were at Pozzolo and the first corps at Marcaria.

On the 6th, the commander of the fortress of Mantua, upon the order of Radetzky, directed a reconnoitre against the Piedmontese van-guard at Marcaria. Colonel Benedek, charged with that reconnoitre, intended to have surprised the enemy; but the execution of the plan failed, owing to a shot fired by a peasant. Entering Marcaria, however, they took ten dragoons and thirteen horses of the regiment of Genoa, stormed those houses whence the troops had been fired upon, and drove the Piedmontese back over the Oglio.

The idea of Radetzky at this time seemed to be to withdraw his forces between the fortresses of Peschiera, Verona,* and Mantua, and to defend the line of the Mincio; but circumstances, perhaps, induced him to change his plan of operations, for by refusing battle, the whole line of the Mincio was abandoned; and his object appeared confined to the possession of Peschiera and Verona, and to the maintenance of the line of the Adige north of Verona, and leading to Roveredo and Trient.

Charles Albert's plant seemed clearly to be, to secure, in the first place, the passages of the Mincio, to place large bodies of men between Peschiera and Verona, and to cut off the line of the Upper Adige, by gaining Pontone, where the only bridge over that river is placed. Should he be successful in these movements, he could not fail to reduce Peschiera, isolate Verona, and thus bar Radetzky's retreat, or cut off the arrival of re-enforcements from Vienna.

The occupation of the important fortresses of Mantua, Verona, and Peschiera changed altogether the prospect of affairs, and the fate of Lombardy now depended on the degree of power possessed by the government of Vienna, and its willingness or unwillingness to attempt the recovery of this kingdom. The independence of Lombardy, which a few days before appeared

* On reaching Verona, Radetzky published an order of the day to his troops, containing the expressive words, "On military grounds, and in my capacity as commander, I say you have retired before the enemy; you have not been conquered."

† Evening Mail.

within the grasp of the Provisional Government, seemed now to be indefinitely postponed; and however anxious France might be to acknowledge it, she could not get rid of the obvious consideration that the country, while the Austrian troops held possession of the three great fortresses in its very centre, was still subject to Austrian rule.* This untoward state of things was mainly owing to the over-cautious military proceedings of the King of Sardinia, and the military inexperience of the persons at Milan charged with the direction of affairs. Had Charles Albert but made two or three forced marches with the large army that he commanded, he might have prevented the concentration of Radetzky's forces. The Provisional Government of Milan are also censurable for having rejected a plan laid down by experienced men, and by which the defeat of the Austrians was assured.

The Milanese, however, elated by their success in casting off from their city the incubus under which it labored—the imposition of imperial troops—were unable to realize the danger of their situation, as no immediate attack on the city was threatened, and they remained undisturbed by passing events. They considered the result of the war as predestined, and they left it in the hands of their too willing ally the King of Piedmont, and the Sardinian, Tuscan, Roman, and Neapolitan troops, who, without any *casus belli*, or declaration of war, were flocking in every direction for the purpose of expelling the stranger from Italian soil.

On the morning of the 8th, at seven o'clock, the Piedmontese, who to this time were on the right bank of the Mincio, the head-quarters of the king being at Castiglione delle Steviere, and the Austrians on the left (the great body of them having retired to Verona), the former with from eight to ten thousand men, coming down from Marcaria, appeared before Goito. That place was occupied by a single Austrian company of the fourth battalion of riflemen, under the command of Captain Knezick; the rest of the brigade Wohlgemuth was on the left shore of the Mincio.

A lively fire, between the *tirailleurs*, on both sides was kept

* Evening Mail.

up for several hours, in which the company of Austrians sustained themselves with great credit; but, being unable to stand up before three to four thousand of the enemy* who were said to be engaged, General Wohlgemuth withdrew the company, partially destroyed the bridge, and placed but two guns to bear upon its passage. But the Sardinian light troops, from the houses on the right bank, which had been abandoned to them, killed off the gunners serving the pieces; and so sharp was the fire, with cross batteries from the shelter which they occupied, that the Austrians were forced to retire; and the Piedmontese, crossing in triumph, remained masters of the passage of the Mincio.†

While this success was attending the Piedmontese arms, a similar struggle, on the same day, but at another point, occurred, which proved favorable to the Austrians. Numerous undisciplined crowds of insurgents had made their appearance at Montebello. The field-marshal dispatched the brigade Lichtenstein to San Bonifacio, to undertake from there a reconnoitre of Montebello. Leaving Verona on the morning of the 7th, they slept that night in San Bonifacio, and executed on the 8th the order. The roads had been rendered impracticable by barricades, but the Austrian pioneers soon removed all obstructions. A strong resistance was only met with in Sono, which was strongly barricaded, and defended by a thousand men. Sono was carried by storm, fifty of its defenders were killed on the spot, thirty or forty taken prisoners, and two ship cannons captured. While this was going on on the heights, Colonel Martini, with a column, stormed the bridge of Montebello, took two sea cannons, and caused the complete evacuation of the place.

As soon as the passage of the Mincio was effected by his troops, Charles Albert removed from Castiglione delle Steviere, passing through Valeggio, invested Peschiera, and carried his head-quarters to Somma Campagna, the enemy retiring at his approach; from thence he attacked and drove back a column of two thousand men, sent from Verona for the purpose of foraging, or of re-enforcing the garrison of Peschiera. The Croats

* Radetzky's Dispatch. † Evening Mail.

fought well; but there was a far superior force against them, and they were driven successively from all the positions which they occupied; and, their retreat being cut off by a spirited advance of the right of the Piedmontese toward Verona, they were obliged to abandon Busolongo, and to fall back to Pontone on the Adige. This affair was no battle, but simply the resolute advance of a superior force against a weaker, and the abandonment of all their positions by the latter, after some brave but ineffectual attempts to maintain their ground.* The position occupied at this time by this portion of the Piedmontese army can be easily understood. On the right bank of the Mincio, from Peschiera to Valeggio, there is a chain of hills, bounded by a heath of four or five miles, and gradually sinking to the vast plains in which Villa-Franca and Verona stand. The same chain is (across the Mincio) continued northward to Pontone, whence the Adige, that has flowed nearly due south from Trient and Roveredo, takes suddenly an eastern direction, and winds through the vale of Verona to that city, situated on the extreme verge of the plain, with gentle hills above it, similar to those that skirt the left bank of the Mincio. The Piedmontese army was encamped at the base of the chain of hills above described, occupying all the villages between Valeggio and Busolongo, where the royal head-quarters were at this time located, with its right at Villa-Franca in the plain, and its left on the banks of the Lake of Garda, where the line of the blockade of Peschiera begins.

Upon learning the affair of the Bridge of Goito, the forcing of the Mincio at that point, as well as at Monzanbano, Marshal Radetzky, supposing that his enemy's object was to give battle, advanced all the troops that he could dispose of at Verona as far as Villa-Franca, where, on the evening of the 8th, eighteen to twenty thousand men, exclusive of the garrison of Mantua, were united. But, contrary to all expectation, on the morning of the 9th, the Piedmontese, as Marshal Radetzky writes, had disappeared without making any hostile demonstration. The first army corps of the Austrians being concentrated around Villa-Franca, and the second occupying Verona,

* Galignani's Messenger.

and being ready at any moment to turn toward a threatened point.

The spot occupied at this time by the hostile armies is especially familiar to the reader of history, from the immortal campaigns of Prince Eugene of Savoy, in 1701, and of Bonaparte in 1796. At this period, however, the natural strength of the lines of the Mincio and the Adige had not received all the improvements which modern science has added to them. Verona, Mantua, and Peschiera now form almost an equilateral triangle of impregnable fortresses, within which no army ought to be forced, and there Radetzky seemed to be waiting, either for the direct attack of the enemy, or for re-enforcements which would enable him to resume the offensive.

The position of Charles Albert and the Piedmontese army is very nearly that occupied by Napoleon on the 1st of August, 1796,* when he extricated himself from a position of great peril, in six wonderful days, by gaining successively the battles of Lonato and Castiglione, thus overcoming the different Austrian corps which were advancing on both sides of the Lake of Garda.

Afterward Radetzky thought it expedient to unite the whole first army corps before Verona, in order to effect a better concentration of his forces and secure a more free use of the facilities which offered. On the side of the Piedmontese, detachments are pushed close to the walls of Verona, while the troops scour the whole plain between that city and the villages of Villa-Franca, Somma Campagna, and Busolongo; so that, in reality, the Austrians seemed almost inclosed within the city of Verona and the line of the Adige to the northwest, leading to the Tyrol.

On the 10th of April the fortress of Peschiera was summoned by a Piedmontese *Parliamentiare* to surrender, but the proposal was rejected by the commander of the fortress. In the afternoon, at two o'clock, appeared two hostile engineer officers in the environs of Trassine, followed by columns of infantry, which brought forth a battery at Laghetto, and extended up to Ponti. A lively but useless fire was opened against the fort

* Galignani's Messenger, 1848.

† The scenery at this point, and particularly at such an hour, was full of beauty.

Salvi (one of the fore posts of Peschiera). After six o'clock the firing ceased.† On the 11th, a band of Piedmontese and Milanese volunteers having crossed the Lake of Garda, and landed at Cazine, advanced as far as the villages of Cavalcaselle and Castel Novo, on the road from Peschiera to Verona. Whereupon Radetzky dispatched two battalions, two squadrons, and one battery, under the command of General Prince Taxis, to that point. The roads were barricaded and defended by peasants, who were soon driven into the towns that were found also strongly barricaded. These were soon carried by storm one after another, and the defenders driven back in wild confusion to Cazine.

The Piedmontese army, in the locations above described, between the Mincio and the Adige, extending from Busolongo on the north, through Villa Franca, Somma Campagna, down to Goito on the south, and approaching within a few miles of Verona, remained in a state of unaccountable inactivity.

Tuscan, Roman, and Neapolitan troops continued to arrive, and swell Charles Albert's forces. His army consisted, from all accounts, of from forty to fifty thousand disciplined troops, and twenty-four thousand Roman, Tuscan, and Neapolitan

The far west is before you, the gentle hills burning under the expiring rays of the summer's sun. On the one side the towers of Ponti, Manzanbano, and the distant castle of Valeggio appear in full relief; at their feet the Mincio gliding in silvery stream. On the other, the broad expanse of the Lake of Garda is displayed, reflecting in its still bosom the numerous hills and mountains that bound it on every side, and showing the white sails of some tiny bark returning to Dezenzano, or winding its way to the many little ports that communicate with the Tyrol. At the extremity of the lake are seen the Alps, their summits still covered with the last remains of the winter's snow, and their sides in the clear atmosphere revealing the clefts, and chasms, and fantastic shapes, which some great natural convulsion has produced. Turning to the east, the landscape is quite changed. The church spires of Cavalcassali, Castel Novo, San Giorgio, and of other villages, protrude, dotting at intervals a vast amphitheatre, broken into pasture grounds, vineyards, or plantations of mulberry-trees, rising and falling into a succession of hills and dales—presenting, not only in its general features, but by the coloring given by the dewy mist risen just after the bright light of day has closed, the strongest possible contrast to the bold features of the western landscape: while the sun's rays still crown the vast sheet of water in the lake, and the mountains of the Tyrol and of Verona. It was exciting, at such an hour, to overlook the siege, to hear the crash of exploding shells, to mark the flashes from the contending batteries, the circle of smoke which rises over the spot where a bomb has fallen, and the vast cloud in which the fortress and batteries are at all times enveloped.

soldiers arrived and advancing to re-enforce him. The Italian army was likely, therefore, soon to amount to nearly one hundred thousand men. To oppose this force, Radetzky had an army of forty thousand strong under the walls of Verona; and General Welden, with ten thousand men, from the Tyrol; and General Count Nugent, with thirty thousand men, from the Friul, to co-operate with him. These forces were independent of strong garrisons in Mantua, Peschiera, and other important towns. The policy of the Austrian commander, at this time, was delay. With his troops inclosed within the line of formidable fortresses, he was quietly awaiting re-enforcements, to the approach of which there was apparently no impediment.

Verona is the most important of the four places which defend the double line of the Mincio and the Adige. Built on both banks of the Adige, at the point where it issues from the mountains to flow through the plain, it commands the course of the river, and covers the routes through the Tyrol.

The part on the left bank, situated on the declivity of a hill which forms the last swell of the Alps, is defended by the fortified heights which overhang the town. That on the right bank, lying on the skirts of an immense plain, extending from these mountains to the Apennines, is surrounded by an intrenched camp, and other works to guard the approaches.

Besides the strength of this position, Radetzky, if defeated, could either fall back on the Tyrol, or seek shelter within the fortresses; whereas, should Charles Albert be unsuccessful, he might find it impossible to retreat with any order across the Mincio, in his rear.

But the most unaccountable portion of Charles Albert's conduct at this time was his failure to strike before the different wings of his enemy's army should have united. That he should have been, as Radetzky, in his official dispatch at this time, represents, "inactive at all points, and seeming to have neither the courage or the power to act upon the offensive;" thus throwing away the golden opportunity which circumstances afforded him of destroying the Austrian army in detail, rather than wait until they should have united, and become invincible.*

* Evening Mail.

Slight engagements took place almost daily between the advanced posts of either army, attended with alternate success; but the King of Sardinia never attempted to bring on a general battle. He was, perhaps, satisfied with the success of his skirmishes, which his sycophantic and vain-glorious followers magnified into important victories; or, perplexed by the firm front presented by the Austrians, he regarded them with a feeling of despair. At all events, the previous chance was lost. Time, so important under any circumstances, and on all occasions, but vital in military operations, he seemed to regard with indifference. On the other hand, the Austrian marshal keeps his troops in close quarters; and, while he quietly awaits the re-enforcements which are on their march to join him, suffers none of his designs to transpire. Wherever the Sardinian troops move, they receive a check. They besiege Peschiera, and find it impregnable; they make a *reconnaissance*, and see nothing but mounted cannon or bristling bayonets; they hazard a skirmish, and are cut down or captured. Charles Albert makes flourishing bulletins of what he has not done, and magniloquently covers his troops with glory for taking possession of deserted villages and abandoned posts.

While matters were in this situation, the opposing armies, in hostile array, experience that stillness which precedes the tempest and the shock of war. The Emperor of Austria, loth to part with the richest jewel of his crown, the fertile province of Lombardy, dispatches a commission, at the head of which is the Count de Hartig, who had formerly held an official station in Italy, to repair to the scene of operations, and to induce, if possible, the people to return to their allegiance to Austria. Accompanying the army of Count Nugent, he published a proclamation, in which he states, in the name of the emperor, that if the Italians would remain connected with Austria, their nationality should be recognized, and they should have all the political and other advantages and privileges which they had demanded before the Revolution, with a free press, and every kind of liberty. In conclusion, the count asks, "Would it not be an imprudence to attempt to gain by arms what would be granted you without the horrors of war?"

While the armies are thus face to face, time for considera-

tion, for conference, for arrangement is afforded to the contending parties. Milan has been a fief of the German empire for a thousand years,* and acknowledged allegiance to the emperor even in the time of the Visconti. Had there been any men of prudence and sagacity among the members of her existing government, it behooved them to weigh well the inconveniences of either a Piedmontese or of a French invasion against the objections of a treaty with Austria, though it should involve a nominal submission to the empire. It was scarcely possible that the cabinet of Vienna would be at that time inaccessible to reason. Lombardy, west of the Adige, has been a source of weakness more often than of strength to Austria; has involved her in wars, and wasted those resources which, applied to her own dominions, would have been of the highest value in strengthening, improving, and, consolidating them. If her sense of honor be consulted in some new adjustment of the Lombardo-Venetian territory, she will be little inclined to quarrel with the terms. It was even understood that the mediation of England and France had been invoked, and that Austria was favorable to a division of the country by the Mincio, retaining the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua, provided the Lombardians would assume their portion of the public debt.

But neither of these questions, however, seemed to enter into their deliberations; but a third and totally different one occupied all their thoughts. It was that of the immediate adhesion of Lombardy to Piedmont; and in order to determine this question, registers were opened to receive the votes of the inhabitants.

The Provisional Government of Lombardy published a proclamation, dated the 12th of May, in which, after a succinct *exposé* of the critical state of the affairs of Lombardy, it recommends the immediate junction of that country with Piedmont, under the constitutional sceptre of the house of Savoy, and, at the same time, orders lists to be opened in different parts of the state to record the votes of the citizens in favor of or against the measure; these lists to be definitively closed on the 29th, the anniversary of the battle of Legnano, which ended

* Britannia.

in the defeat of Frederic Barbarossa in the twelfth century.* The lists to contain the votes *against* the measure to be headed by a declaration that the decision of the future destiny of Lombardy ought to be postponed until after the war. Those of the opposite opinion to be headed by a declaration that the supreme necessity of liberating Italy from the Austrians obliges Lombardy to proclaim her immediate fusion with the Sardinian States, on the condition of convoking a Constituent Assembly on the principle of universal suffrage, to decide upon the form of a constitutional monarchy under the dynasty of Savoy.

While these things were transpiring, the King of Sardinia, the "descendant of the glorious Eugene of Savoy," meets with a severe repulse before Verona—an affair in which he made the attack, which was unnecessary, without an object, and tended, doubtless, to the depression of his men by the consciousness of defeat. The affair is thus described by Field-marshal Radetzky in his official report to the Minister of War. "I have to inform you that I was attacked this morning, 6th of May, a little before nine o'clock, in my position on the rideau before Verona, and especially on the left wing at St. Lucia, while, at the same time, the enemy opened the engagement with a heavy cannonade in the direction of St. Massimo, Croce Bianca, and Chiemo, and made a feint of attacking them. They directed all their force against St. Lucia, which was defended only by the weak brigade Strassaldo. The conflict lasted altogether fully eight hours. The brigade fought with the courage of lions. Never have I heard so well-sustained a fire as that which the enemy opened at this point. Only one short pause intervened during the engagement, in which time the enemy attacked St. Massimo, and made continual demonstrations against the centre and right wing, consisting of the brigades Gyulai, Lichtenstein, and Taxis, but was here forced to retire." The Piedmontese fought well, but they failed in all their attacks. The marshal thus states the results of the conflict:

"The retreat of the enemy from St. Lucia had rather the appearance of a flight, as many military accoutrements, drums, knapsacks, etc., were found there. The engagement lasted

* Galignani's Messenger.

from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon. The ground being much broken, did not admit of our pursuing the enemy effectively with our cavalry, and we were therefore not in a position to make many prisoners; but a great number of wounded, whom the enemy were not able to carry off, fell into our hands."*

The situation of the battle-field of St. Lucia is represented by military writers as one of the most favorable which can be offered for a defensive battle. A thick forest of mulberry-trees conceals from the attacking party the position of the enemy. The positions of the Austrians for that conflict were masterly. The calmness with which the battle was accepted but with a few troops, the perseverance with which unnecessary re-enforcements were refused, the behavior of the troops themselves, the heroic defense of the brigade Strassaldo, the repulse of the attack upon Croce Bianca, all were admirable. An experienced theoretician pronounces that the defense of the Adige by the Austrians in the position of St. Lucia, most brilliantly manifested the truth of that theory, for which the science of war will be at all times most grateful to him, because here was exemplified the practical application of one of the most successful principles of the theory of self-defense.†

The victory of St. Lucia liberated the confined Austrian army for the remainder of the campaign from the advance of the enemy. It was a daring act on the part of the Piedmontese to advance so near to Verona, and which they probably never would have done but with the hope of the sympathy of the inhabitants. On this occasion, they experienced for the first time that it would not be quite so easy a task as they had contemplated, to proceed in an untroubled triumphal march to Vienna, and to prescribe (as Napoleon had done before) under the walls of that city the terms of peace to the old empire tottering under the agitations from within as well as the invasions from without. The old imperial battalions, inured to discipline, and distinguished for fidelity, relieved of their discordant

* The loss of the Piedmontese in this engagement is put down by an Italian author at fifteen hundred; that of the Austrians at about nine hundred.—Author of "Custoza."

† Williston's "Campaign of Lombardy." ‡ Wiener Zeitung.

elements (seventeen battalions of Italian troops had deserted their flag‡), were here for the first time, it might be said, opposed to the forces of the Italian insurrection. Although it was the desire of the veteran marshal, immediately after the success, to assume the offensive, he was compelled by prudential motives to abstain from such a course. Verona, with sixty thousand inhabitants, had to be strictly guarded and strongly occupied, and the army division under Count Nugent had not yet arrived, and was not expected before the end of the month of May. The arrival of the first re-enforcement was necessary to proceed successfully on the offensive, and even then it appeared doubtful, as, owing to the revolutionary state of the country, it was improbable that considerable re-enforcements could within a short time be sent into Italy. These re-enforcements were, however, subsequently received, much to the credit of Count Latour, the Minister of War, who conducted the military administration with great energy and success, amid all the internal commotions of the empire. The offensive was not then seized immediately after the victory of St. Lucia, but determined on as soon as the junction of Nugent's forces with Radetzky's should be effected. The interval was occupied in accomplishing particularly two things, still wanting to complete the strong system of defense around Verona, viz., the strengthening of the positions before the city, by fortifying the line before St. Lucia and St. Massimo, and the formation of a small squadron on the Garda Lake. The marshal's greatest care was devoted to provisioning his army, rendered so difficult by its position. The only free communication which remained to him was the great road through the Tyrol, and, as that region of country itself was incapable of furnishing any supplies for an army, every thing had to be transported from a long distance beyond it, and with great difficulty; and to have provided the army for many weeks amid these difficulties reflected much credit on the administration.

MOVEMENTS OF GENERAL NUGENT.

After the evacuation of Venice by the Austrian troops, and the insurrection of Udine, Osopo, Palma Nova, and Treviso, General Victor de Pantis received orders to concentrate all the

troops who had been able to effect their retreat, and to prepare, in expectation of the main force under General Nugent, a sufficient van-guard on the Isonzo. Although all the Italian battalions (Wimpfen, Ferdinand d'Este, Albert, the marine troops at Venice) had deserted their standards, Major Geramb succeeded in collecting a force of Hungarian and German battalions of the garrisons of Udine and Treviso, and waited, in Görtz and the villages in the vicinity, the orders of General Victor. This general proceeded from Trieste, bringing with him the regiment, Kinski's, one battalion of Hungarian grenadiers, and one battalion of Croats, belonging to the late garrison of Venice, and one battalion of Furstenwerther, stationed in Trieste. Orders were transmitted to Fiume and Agram, and other parts of Croatia, to send forward their battalions of Croats, which were accordingly dispatched from Fiume to Trieste by steamer, and from Agram to Görtz by land.

On the 4th of April, General Victor had fourteen frontier battalions, four of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and four cannons under his orders, near the Isonzo.* The reserve corps was in Romano, and the outposts extended very near to Palma Nova. In this position he awaits the arrival of Nugent and his re-enforcements.†

General Nugent has his head-quarters at Görtz, fifteen thousand men, with four batteries of artillery, and four rocket batteries under his orders. No important engagement occurred.

On the 17th of April, General Nugent took the offensive, by attacking Visko, Talmico, and seven other villages, which, after a severe resistance, were burned. The inhabitants fled, leaving the country open to operations against Udine.

The head-quarters were then removed from Romano to Nogaredo. The 21st of April, Udine was bombarded during two hours, and, as the greatest confusion prevailed in the city, the white flag was hoisted, and *parliamentiares*, with propositions of capitulation, were sent to General Nugent's camp. On the 23d, General Nugent took possession of the city of Udine, where he found arms and munitions, but only three cannons. The garrison, which consisted of Piedmontese artillery, and the two

* Allgemeine Zeitung. † Wiener Zeitung.

Italian batteries—Wimpfen's and d'Este's—retreated to Osopo, after having been repulsed at Ponteba by the Austrian troops. A great part of the insurgents, consisting mostly of volunteers, were dispersed in the mountains of Carinthia. Colonel Gorizutti had a strong force under his command at Gemona, to observe their movements, and to besiege Osopo. Prince Schwartzenberg had the command of the besieging forces at Palma Nova. Being so covered in his rear, General Nugent pushed his columns forward to the banks of the Tagliamento. A rowing flotilla, which had been armed in Trieste, entered the Tagliamento near Porto Buso and Lignano, and communicated with the Austrian troops, which covered the right shore of the Tagliamento as far as Portogruaro. On the 28th of April, the Tagliamento was crossed; and, on the 3d of May, the head-quarters of Nugent were at Conegliano. On the same day, General Nugent, in order to cover his left flank, ordered Major Geramb over Ceneda to Belluno. On the 4th of May, after very slight resistance, that place was occupied by the Austrian troops.

On the 8th of May, the Piave was passed at two points, Belluno and Capo di Ponte. Major General Culoz, with four thousand troops, was at this time in Feltre.

On the 8th, General Culoz forced a division of sixteen hundred Papal troops to retreat to Onigo. The attack was resumed on the 9th with equal success. Meantime, General Nugent had passed the Piave at Ponte della Priula, where a bridge had been built by the pioneers. On the 10th, Montebelluna was evacuated as soon as the Austrian troops approached. The van-guard of the Austrian corps had advanced to Spressiano and Visnadello. On the 11th, the Papal troops under Ferrari attacked the Austrians in their position, but were soon repulsed, and retreated to Treviso. On the 12th, Nugent's head-quarters were in Visnadello, one post-station from Treviso, and his *corps d'armée* posted *en échelons* on the roads leading to Treviso.

From that day the operations against Treviso were suspended, on account of the necessity of effecting the junction with Radetzky's main forces. General Nugent delivered his command at Treviso to General Sturmer, and he retired to Görtz

on account of ill health. The command was, a few days afterward, given to Field-marshal General Welden. It is said that Nugent retarded all movements against Treviso, being afraid that his daughter, who was a prisoner at that place, would be sacrificed in the event of his advance, as the Provisional Government had threatened.

On the 18th of May, the main forces of the *corps d'armée* of General Nugent, under the command of Prince Schwartzenberg, started from Visnadello, passing the Brenta, and directing their movements against Vicenza, where General d'Aspre was to meet them. Another column marched over Bassano for the same purpose. On the 23d the junction took place, and the now united corps under D'Aspre, Thurn, and Culoz, commanded in person by Radetzky, marched upon Vicenza. On the 31st, General Welden received the command of the besieging forces at Treviso. From this day to the 14th, when Treviso surrendered, nothing remarkable occurred.

The garrison of Treviso consisted of Piedmontese, Papal, and Neapolitan troops, besides a number of Crociati—Crusaders, as they called themselves—the whole amounting to eight thousand men. In the latter part of the month of May, the Neapolitan troops had received orders to return to their country, in consequence of the late outbreak at Naples. A proclamation of Baron Welden to his troops, orders that no quarter be given to any one of the Crociati, who had committed tremendous atrocities in a hospital at Villa Franca. On the 10th, General Sturmer made a movement toward Bassano and the mountain passes on the frontiers of the Tyrol, which was attended with complete success. The communication with the Tyrol was re-established, and the country cleared of the ravaging bands of insurgents. On the 14th of June, Treviso surrendered, after a bombardment of twelve hours. On the 18th of June, Prince Lichtenstein entered Mestre, which offered no resistance. On the 17th of June, Padua surrendered ; and on the 25th, the Fort Cavanella. Thus the whole Venetian terra firma was again reduced to subjection by Austria.

After the battle of St. Lucia, the Piedmontese army remained motionless upon the Mincio, without even attempting to for-



tify its positions, which were liable to be attacked at any moment by an enemy concentrated at Verona, not more than two leagues distant from the centre of his line. The besieging batteries having at length arrived, the attack on Peschiera was vigorously commenced. But even the capture of this place was trifling in comparison with the advantage to the Austrians arising from the junction of Nugent's army with that of Radetzky, and which the Piedmontese made no effort to prevent. Peschiera, situated at the southern extremity of the Lake of Garda, at the point where the Mincio issues from the lake, is a regular pentagon, well fortified, and traversed and surrounded by the waters of the river. On each bank, a fort covers the body of the town, and protects it from the heights which, on either hand, command it. The garrison was composed of two thousand Croats, commanded by the aged General Rath, who had been governor of the place for twenty-two years, and was much beloved by the inhabitants.

This fortress, being closely pressed, and unable to hold out more than a few hours, Marshal Radetzky, re-enforced by the arrival of Nugent's forces, under the command of Count Thurn, left Verona on the evening of the 27th of May, and marched all that night and the next day, on the flanks of the enemy, toward Mantua (as by the direct road the Piedmontese positions were too strong), having, by a feint attack on the enemy, misled them, and thus concealed his march toward that fortress. "By this maneuvering," says the field-marshal, "I succeeded in throwing my forces rapidly on the extreme right wing of the enemy; and thus I yesterday (the 29th) passed the Mincio with my army, under cover of the guns of the fortress of Mantua." After this, on the same day, as Radetzky further reports, "in order to attack the flanks of our enemy, and to advance with my army into the plain, I was forced to take the fortified position in the neighborhood of Mantua and Cortatone. This difficult task was successfully executed; in three hours all the lines were taken, and about two thousand prisoners, among whom were one colonel, sixty-six officers, one battalion of Neapolitan troops, five cannon, four powder-casks, and one flag." The object of Radetzky was to follow up the line of the Mincio, and to force the enemy, by that

movement, to leave the river, or to fight. A victory here would have been of the greatest result. The enemy had, on the left side of the Mincio, no other means of retreat but by the prolongation of his right flank, while he had in his rear the Garda Lake, the yet uncaptured fortress of Peschiera, and the high Alps, while the Austrian army had a completely-secured line of retreat toward Mantua. A more favorable, strategic plan can scarcely be conceived. So secret and rapid had been the movements of Radetzky, that it was not until the 29th, and after he had passed Mantua, that Charles Albert became aware that he had quitted Verona. He was, consequently, taken altogether by surprise, and his lines completely turned.

The Mincio, from Peschiera to Mantua, forms a larger lake as it approaches the latter town. The Austrians had the choice of issuing forth on either side of the lake and of the Mincio. This rendered the investment of Mantua by the Piedmontese a difficult task. Accordingly, Charles Albert had kept at a considerable distance, at Valeggio and Volta, leaving merely light and irregular troops to watch Mantua.

Radetzky marched out of Mantua on the 29th, at the head of about thirty thousand men. He issued southwest of the lake and the Mincio, routed the irregular troops, and moved up the Mincio on its Lombardian side, in order to divide, if possible, the Piedmontese. The road from Verona to Cremona traverses the Mincio at the bridge of Goito, and then strikes off, straight as an arrow, to the village of Gazzoldo.* This road was the line taken up by Charles Albert, his two first lines being in advance of Goito, and the reserve at Volta. In this position of the parties, an attack was commenced, about one o'clock on the 30th, by Radetzky on the Piedmontese position. The result is claimed as a great victory by the Piedmontese, but the engagement was but a slight one. The Piedmontese, about fifty thousand strong, were commanded by General Bava, assisted by the King and the Duke of Savoy. Each party retained its ground; but the Piedmontese had been turned, and Radetzky found himself in the rear of the enemy. Had the Piedmontese been beaten in a pitched battle, they would have been cut

* Galignani's Messenger.

off from Cremona, Brescia, and Milan, and compelled to retreat to what was so lately their advance, viz., the left bank of the Mincio, where they would have been exposed to an attack from Verona and Mantua, provided strong reserves had been left in these fortresses.* It was the intention of Marshal Radetzky to have offered the decisive battle at this point, for which reason he threw up barricades and intrenchments; but two circumstances, altogether unforeseen, occurred, and caused him to change his plans. The first was the violent rain, which fell without interruption from the 31st of May to the 3d of June, and completely inundated the low and level country, where his army was then located, rendering it utterly impracticable for him to operate, either with his cavalry or artillery. The second was, the occurrences of the 26th of May, in Vienna, news of which had just reached him, that all the power there had fallen into the hands of the students and populace; and Radetzky, uncertain whether he would be sustained by the government with such re-enforcements as might be necessary in case of his advance, concluded rather to forego the advantages of position than jeopardize his troops by risking a battle. Accordingly, on the night of the 3d of June, he abandoned his position, and returned, with all his forces, to Mantua. While these operations were going on, on the right of the Piedmontese army, an Austrian column of Tyrolian chasseurs, advancing over Riva, attacked the left wing, in the vicinity of Bardolino, on the Lake of Garda, and with a view of coming to the relief of Peschiera. The free corps of Pavia, which defended this point, were, after several hours' resistance, compelled to give way, and Bardolino was taken. Several regiments of Savoy cavalry and infantry coming up to the assistance of the Pavian volunteers, the Austrians were, in turn, forced to give way before superior forces, and retreated to the neighborhood of Caprino.

On the evening of the 30th of May, the fortress of Peschiera surrendered to the Piedmontese under a capitulation highly honorable to the brave garrison. The first duty of the besiegers was to distribute seventeen hundred rations to the famished

* Evening Mail.

inhabitants. The next day the garrison, sixteen hundred in number, under Baron Rath, marched out with flying banners and all the honors of war. They were to lay down their arms at a mile's distance from Peschiera, and then to march to Ancona, and there embark for Trieste. The capitulation stipulated that they should not take up arms against the Italians as long as the war of independence continued.* The defense of the fortress was the more meritorious, as the garrison had not been regularly provisioned since the 12th of May, having had no other nourishment since that time but mice and saltpetre, all the horses having been previously consumed. The artillery had been obliged to watch, for the last two months, day and night, without ceasing. The number of sick and wounded increased daily; they were without medicine, and but a single surgeon. Four thousand bombs had been discharged into the town, and a great portion of the buildings destroyed.† Though the little town suffered severely, the fortress itself was comparatively uninjured. As the works occupied a great extent, and were constructed with great solidity; and, as the waters of the Lake of Garda flowed around, through a deep ditch twenty feet wide, the Piedmontese would have found it a difficult matter to enter. In fact, it was very evident that Peschiera capitulated alone from the want of food, and not from any impression made by the besiegers. The opportune surrender, however, was an advantage to the King of Piedmont, not only from its being a good base for operations, and a desirable place for magazines, but from the extent of the force which he was thereby enabled to draw from before it to support his maneuvers in front of the enemy.

On the next day, after his return to Mantua, Marshal Radetzky started out on his return to Verona; and from his headquarters at Sanguinetto on the 5th, he writes, that his march over Mantua on the flanks of the enemy had not entirely fulfilled his expectations; and as the direct march back to Verona would be accompanied with much danger, he had concluded to cross the Adige at Legnano, and to attack Vicenza on his route; by which movement he would place himself in direct

* Risorgimento of Turin. † Radetzky's Dispatch.

communication with the reserve corps under Baron Welden. Accordingly, on the 9th, an imposing force of the imperial army approached Vicenza from Comisano, and occupied the Basano road. At the same time, the Austrians stationed at Montebello advanced toward Monteberico. On the 10th, at dawn, the attack upon that position commenced. It was valiantly defended until noon, when all the artillery of the besiegers being directed against it, it became impossible to defend it longer. The rest of the town was guarded and defended by the whole garrison. Eighty bombs were discharged by the Austrians into the city.

The fire was kept up until evening, when, all the fortifications being taken, the troops of the Pope, under General Durando, by whom the city was principally defended, surrendered. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honors of war, and to keep their arms, on condition of not fighting against the Austrians for three months. The town was evacuated before noon, and Radetzky returned the same day to Verona, reaching there on the night of the 13th of June. On the 12th, D'Aspre, with the second army corps, took Padua, without striking a blow. He had remained with two brigades at Verona during the absence of Radetzky, and had only left when the field-marshal was on the march back, in order to maintain the communication with Vicenza, and thus secure Radetzky's return. After the affair of Goito, and the sudden retreat of Radetzky from that part of the field of operations, Charles Albert extended his army north, to occupy the heights of Rivoli. General Somnaz, at the head of three brigades, with the necessary quantity of artillery, the first battalion of tirailleurs, and the volunteers of Pavia and Piacenza, moved, on the 9th, from Sega, Colmassino, Cavajon, and Costuman, to attack the formidable positions of the enemy on all sides. The fourth division, commanded by the Duke of Genoa, occupied the heights of Pessina, Boi, and Caprino. The king, who had transferred his head-quarters to Garda, followed these movements with the columns of Piedmont and Pinerolo, and established himself at Gazzoli. The Piedmontese army thus extended from Goito to Rivoli; and the object seemed to be to cut off Radetzky's communication with the Tyrol, cross the

Adige, take all the forts above Verona, and then capture that city. The favorable opportunities which the King of Piedmont possessed of executing this plan during the absence of Radetzky from Verona, were lost by unaccountable inaction. The consequence was, not only the sacrifice of a noble prize, almost within his grasp, but the troops, from this inaction, spent all their time in complaining of their officers; and the officers, equally idle, devoted themselves to condemning the plans of those whom accident, and not merit, had placed at their head. As these complaints were none of them unfounded, the train was laid for a rapid demoralization of the whole army.

A plan, it is understood, was made for the capture of Verona, while Radetzky was at Vicenza, and in which the Piedmontese were to have had the assistance of the people of Verona, but which failed through the indecision and inactivity of the king. The citizens of Verona, it is said, had positively agreed to give the Porta Nova to Charles Albert; and that, for the purpose of profiting by the offer, all the troops had been marched, on the 13th, within two miles of the city.* Had the movement taken place twelve hours sooner, complete success was assured; but the king delayed until Radetzky had time to return from Vicenza with ten thousand men; and at two o'clock on the morning of the 14th, when the attack was to begin (and the honor of first entering the town was allotted to the Duke of Savoy), a messenger came to head-quarters, at Alpo, to say that it was too late, and that the people, who were ready to act when the garrison was three thousand, declined to run the risk when it was augmented to thirteen thousand men. The propitious moment was lost, and the king and the army retired, equally dispirited and defeated, to Valeggio. A more striking example of the evil of delay than is exhibited at this time in the conduct of the King of Piedmont, and its consequences, has seldom occurred. The line of the Adige, upon which, according to the just opinion of Napoleon, the possession of Upper Italy depended, and the city of Verona, the acknowledged key to the whole Venetian territory, lay before him, both, at that time, feebly defended. By striking

* Evening Mail, June 28, 1848.

at that opportune moment, he would not only have secured those important points, but have cut off Radetzky from all communication with the heart of the empire—the receipt of provisions, as well as the arrival of re-enforcements—to say nothing of a safe and open retreat at any time, should defeat await him. But, instead of turning his attention to this most important matter, his thoughts seemed to be occupied in securing, at least on paper, the enlargement of his kingdom, and the union of Lombardy and Piedmont. It was on the afternoon of the 10th, when Radetzky, after a hard-fought battle, was signing the capitulation of Vicenza, that King Charles Albert was affixing his signature to the Act of Union of Lombardy to the kingdom of Sardinia, the document, ready to be signed, having been brought to him by M. Casati and two other members of the Provisional Government of Milan. According to this compact, the Provisional Government of Milan was to cease its functions immediately, and to be replaced by a Commission of Regency, composed of Piedmontese and Milanese, under the presidentship of M. Casati.

The situation of Charles Albert was, however, not without its embarrassments. About this time, the Piedmontese ministry gave in their resignations collectively, baffled and divided by the question whether the war should be carried on to the last extremity, or whether a temporizing policy should be adopted. The ministry professed the latter opinion. But a still greater source of annoyance to him was, the abrupt refusal of the Provisional Government of Milan to accept what was understood to be the proposition of the Austrian government for a settlement on the basis of the Adige or the Mincio. As long as the "holy war," for which so much idle boasting was heard, and so little in reality done, had even the semblance of being national, Charles Albert was willing to encounter all the risks which the prosecution of it demanded; but, after having been deserted by Naples, by Rome, and but inefficiently supported by Tuscany; when he perceived that the question was no longer Italian, but Piedmontese, his enthusiasm in the cause underwent some abatement. The army, at the same time, became discouraged. The Piedmontese had learned wisdom at the price of their blood, and, unable to disguise from

themselves that they were left alone to fight the national quarrel, they were beginning to calculate the extent of the sacrifices that had been made, those which were still required, and such as the effective prosecution of the war might yet demand. They saw that all the coin of the realm had flowed to the seat of war, that the strength of the people was exhausted in the struggle, and that the fields at home absolutely remained untilled, because the arms that should cultivate them were in the camp. These sacrifices were willingly made so long as success followed the operations of the king, and the other Italian troops joined in the national cause and contributed to its maintenance; but now, when victory had become more doubtful, and the Piedmontese found that the whole burden had fallen to their lot, they began to cool down in their ardor, and to become clamorous for a settlement. Charles Albert was willing to accept what the Austrians were desirous of giving, and a nobleman in the confidence of the king, it was understood, was dispatched to Turin, with the intention of consulting the ministry and the heads of the parties on the subject, and that plain language had been used to the Provisional Government of Milan, for the purpose of securing its consent. But the Milanese and the Venetians were more anxious that the king should prosecute the war for the recovery of the Venetian kingdom, which, with the exception of the capital, was every foot of it in possession of the Austrians. To this proposal the king declared, that he would only advance with the whole, and not with a portion of his army; and he inquired if the Milanese had power to defend their own territory, and protect Brescia, Bergamo, and the capital itself. The Lombardians were of opinion that an army corps of thirty thousand men were quite sufficient to reconquer Venetia, and that the rest of the force should be left to protect the line of the Mincio; but the king wisely determined not to divide his army, or to compromise his own position by operating against an enemy who had sixty-five thousand men in hand, without at least an equal number.

For these reasons, the whole Piedmontese army, a force of at least sixty-five thousand men, extending from the vicinity of Mantua to Rivoli, a distance of nearly thirty miles, re

mained paralyzed, and without any movement or occurrence to disturb the inaction, except an occasional skirmish between the outposts.

About this time, the Emperor of Austria, deeming the moment when success attended the Austrian arms an appropriate one for advancing some proposals of reconciliation with the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, orders Marshal Radetzky to suspend hostile operations for a brief period, and again dispatches Count Hartig on the errand of peace, and with his views as to the terms of settlement; but the opposition of Radetzky, and the whole Austrian army, to any suspension of hostilities at this moment was so great, that the emperor concluded to decline taking any such steps, and especially while the King of Piedmont remained an invader on the imperial territories.

There is no doubt that Charles Albert, and every person of reason and influence in the court and in the army, were at this time inclined to accept the terms lately offered by Austria, and to secure, by conceding the Tyrol and the Adige, the magnificent conquest of Lombardy, and the conversion of a monarchy, with only four millions of inhabitants, into a kingdom having nine millions at its disposal, and one of the richest and most productive soils of Italy. They both well knew that such a result of a first campaign has seldom been attained by the most successful conqueror, and that even his warm expectations, formed at the opening of the invasion, could scarcely have anticipated so important an acquisition at so small a cost. The king was fully aware that his dominions, as King of Piedmont, Savoy, and Lombardy, would be far more secure than if Venitia were added to them. In the one case, the Austrians would respect a frontier, which a wise policy shows is most beneficial to the empire; while, in the other, they knew that Austria would not freely relinquish the head of the Adriatic, and that the extreme frontier must ever be maintained in a state of war—defensive war. The union of Piedmont, Savoy, and Lombardy would not give offense to, or inspire alarm in the other powers of Italy; but, on the other hand, would not the Pope and the King of Naples be, in common prudence, compelled to preserve an armed neutrality, when they found the self-styled King of Italy in possession of the Alps, and the

two seas, and nine millions of inhabitants? And when France should revive from the internal agony under which her best energies for the moment were prostrated, would she behold on the Italian frontier the creation of a powerful monarchy, without natural feelings of jealousy? It was a question, also, these views would suggest, whether the annexation of Savoy to France, on the same grounds of nationality and language that formed the pretexts for this crusade, could not be with equal justice demanded; and Charles Albert, well aware of the influence of example, would scarcely hazard losing a province, whence the best of his army was derived, for the doubtful acquisition of a territory whose fidelity could not be implicitly relied on. In short, every motive of reason and policy induced the king to give a favorable ear to nogotiation; but popular clamor was so great, the vapid nonsense repeated about the "holy war" and the national cause was so loud, that he doubtless felt himself forced in honor to persevere, when it was no longer prudent, in his opinion, or consonant, perhaps, with the plans with which he entered the contest.*

The two great political aims, of equal interest to the entire community of Europe, and which seemed to engage the attention of the whole continent at this time, were involved in the struggle then going on in the north of Italy. The first was, without doubt, the independence of that new state which had been called into existence by the arms of the house of Savoy, by the eventful circumstances of the times, and by the promise of a liberal Constitution under the tutelary genius of a monarchy, to which several of the Italian states had already spontaneously and unanimously adhered. The second was the re-establishment of peace upon terms consistent with the security of the Austrian empire, so that if the imperial court was to be relieved from the government of a disaffected province, and the danger of an exhausting war, Austria might have ample security on her southern frontier against the possibility of foreign aggression, and, although she should lose a portion of her Italian subjects, might still find in Italy a barrier and an ally against the more formidable power of the French Republic.

* London Times.

In the state of Europe at this time, to settle the first of these questions was to contribute largely to the settlement of the second. By some it was thought not for the interest of Austria herself to attempt the reconquest of Lombardy, even if such an enterprise were possible in the face of the Piedmontese army and the decided hostility of the entire population. On the other hand, the establishment of a regular and monarchical government in the north of Italy was the best security against the extension of the revolutionary propaganda in that direction.* No power in Europe at this time, not even Austria herself perhaps, rent as she was by insurrection in all her provinces, and her very capital in the hands and under the control of revolutionists, supposed that it would ever be possible for her to regain the lost province; and the question then at issue, in its most practical form, seemed to be, which of the rivers that fall into the Adriatic should be the boundary of the Austrian empire — the Adige, the Piave, the Tagliamento, or the Isonzo? When Bonaparte had penetrated to Leoben, in 1796, after the annihilation of three Austrian armies, he extended the territory of the Cis-Alpine Republic to the last-mentioned stream, and his power touched in the Bay of Trieste, the most important maritime position of the Austrian empire and of Southern Germany.

But at this time, in the relative positions of both belligerents to each other, to Europe, and especially to France, such a concession was more than Austria could make or Charles Albert obtain. But the question was even more political than military. A serious reverse might depress the Italians, but what effect would it have upon the French? This was the point which most concerned the independence of Italy, the security of Austria, and the peace of Europe. A turbulent party in Paris might avail itself of this event, as it did in the Polish question, to raise the cry of war, and hurry its troops to the scene of action; while, on the other hand, it was currently believed that the German Confederation would actively espouse the cause of Austria in the quarrel, by sending the Federal troops of Bavaria and Wurtemberg to occupy the frontiers

* London Times.

of Tyrol as part of the territories of the German Confederation, in consequence of the blockade of Trieste by an Italian squadron. Thus would all Europe be once again involved in war.*

While these speculations were indulged in throughout Europe, Marshal Radetzky, whose policy, it had long been evident, was to fight a decisive battle when and where he thought fit, was slowly but gradualy collecting all his resources for the great blow, which was certain sooner or later to come. In the mean time, as the period for final operations against the Piedmontese army had not yet arrived, Radetzky, having left sufficient forces in Verona and Mantua, proceeded with the balance of his troops to reconquer the Venetian kingdom to the Austrian sceptre, as well as, by this diversion, to draw Charles Albert, if possible, from his fortified position between the Adige and the Mincio. The King of Piedmont employed himself in executing the hydraulic operations against Mantua proposed by Napoleon in his memoirs. The waters of the lake were deviated and lowered, so that the miasmatic effluvia produced fatal consequences to the garrison, and the water at Porta Molina being drawn off, the mill stopped, and the inconvenience and mortality in consequence were very great.

During these operations on the wings of the army, the two main bodies, the one about Verona and the other along the Mincio, with head-quarters at Villa-Franca, remained in a state of inactivity, except in the preparations making for a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

Slight engagements took place between the advanced posts, and which were, by their respective parties, magnified by high-sounding bulletins into great affairs, but which were without the slightest result upon the general current of events. One of these occurred on the 30th of June, on the plateau of Rivoli, which resulted favorably to the Austrians, and in which a large number of Piedmontese laid down their arms.

On the other hand, a "small affair," as termed by the disinterested, but characterized by the Italian bulletins as a brilliant victory, took place on the 18th of July, at Governolo, a

* London Times.

village on the Mincio, near the confluence of that river with the Po. General Bava, with a few regiments of Piedmontese troops, attacked three thousand Austrians, who were intrenched in that position, carried the bridge by a brilliant charge of cavalry and flying artillery, and took four hundred and fifty prisoners, four pieces of artillery, two standards, and put the Austrians to flight.

Meantime, heavy and vast preparations were making on both sides for the decisive blow, which every one saw must soon occur. · For some time great movements had been perceptible at Peschiera, in the arrival of Lombardian troops and arms of all kinds. The Piedmontese force at this time was divided between Rivoli and the heights between the Lake of Garda and the Upper Adige, and the ground occupied by Goito, Roverbella, and Villa-Franca, and these advantageous positions were strongly protected by several lines of fortifications. Twenty thousand men were stationed on the left of the lines, while at least forty thousand occupied the right, and protected the Mincio. About five thousand Tuscan troops had lately arrived on the Mincio, and fifteen thousand Lombard levies on the Oglio; but upon these not much reliance was placed.

Works of circumvallation were being executed around Mantua, on the right side, while a large portion of the army were so placed as to complete the blockade on the left bank, and to oppose any aggression, either from Verona or Legnano. Trenches were opened on the principal roads by which the enemy might issue forth. Strong works were at the same time proceeding against Verona: many covert ways were excavated around the town, and movable barricades constructed to approach the walls, with loop-holes for heavy cannon, as well as capable of being manned by sharp-shooters. Heavy intrenchments were also thrown up, from which they intended to bombard the road along the Adige, and to secure thereby the communication with the left side of the river.

On the other hand, Marshal Radetzky was gradually and effectually concentrating his forces around Verona; nine regiments had reached there by the way of Vicenza, and the roads for some days from Codroipo were crowded with men wending their way to head-quarters. On the 21st, twelve thousand

men entered Verona from Vicenza. Radetzky was busily engaged reconnoitering and feeling the lines of the enemy at various points, and resorting to every stratagem to draw him beyond his intrenchments, or entice him into the commission of some false step.

This opportunity soon occurred; for the King of Piedmont, interested in the blockade of Mantua, which he superintended in person, was guilty of the imprudence of stripping the valuable positions of Rivoli and the heights covering Peschiera, overlooking the plain of Verona; and, in violation of all the rules of war, by the occupation of a long straggling line, strong only in the point most distant from the centre of operations; and this in the face of a formidable enemy, who only awaited the first false move of his adversary to commence an overwhelming attack. The military eye of Radetzky in a moment detected this false step of his adversary, and every preparation was instantly made to take advantage of the imprudence of the enemy. On the 20th and 21st, all communication between Verona and Mantua were interrupted.

In anticipation of this movement on the part of the Piedmontese, the marshal, on the 21st, directed the third army corps, under Count Thurn, to march against the left wing of the enemy at Rivoli; and, on the afternoon of the 22d, informed by a report from Major-general Baron Simbschen, in Sanguinetto, that the enemy stood nine thousand strong at Governolo, four thousand at Castellano, and four thousand at Castelbelforte, his resolution for attack was immediately taken. The third army corps, which had been dispatched the day before, quietly passed the Upper Adige at the foot of the Montebaldo, or great mountain, which overlooks Rivoli, and is, as it were, the guardian giant of the river, and attacked the hostile position on La Corona, and carried it by storm. A re-enforcement of thirteen hundred infantry and half a battery of artillery retrieved for a time the disastrous state of affairs; but the Piedmontese stationed there were at length obliged to retreat before them to their position at Rivoli. On the next day the Austrians advanced from La Corona, and, after a vigorous resistance, carried the plateau and all the lines of Rivoli; the Piedmontese, in number about twenty-five thousand,

who defended them, falling back in tolerable order to Sandra, a few miles beyond, abandoning two pieces of artillery, but securing their baggage. On the 24th, Count Thurn advanced to Pastrengo and Sandra to blockade Peschiera. While these operations were proceeding on the right, under the orders of Marshal Radetzky, the first and second reserve corps, on the night between the 22d and 23d, about one o'clock, started out from Verona during a frightful storm, and, to avoid any notice of their approach, having their horses' hoofs and the wheels of their carriages covered with cloth, and, two hours before day, appeared before Villa-Franca, Somma Campagna, and Sona. They were directed by their veteran chief to storm those heights, and to advance, in case of success, to the Mincio at two different points. For that purpose, the first reserve corps marched over Gerastala and Oliosi, and the second reserve over San Giorgio. An infantry and cavalry brigade were ordered to occupy the enemy, between the road of Sona and Busolongo, by a sham fight, in order to deceive him as to the real point of attack.*

General Simbschen was directed to leave only a detachment at Legnano, and to march with his brigade over Villa Fontana and Isolalta to the heights of Custoza. All these orders, says the marshal, were executed promptly and bravely. At eight o'clock they reached the hostile intrenchments; and while the force that had been so successful at Rivoli attacked the right flank of General Somnaz, these made a tremendous assault in front, and carried by storm, at ten o'clock, the heights of Sona, Somma Campagna, and Bosco, and all the elevations running from Busolongo on the Upper Adige to Valeggio, on the Mincio, and overlooking the vast plain in which the great fortress of Villa-Franca stands. The Italians occupying these points, consisting of the regiments of Pignorol, of a part of that of Savoy, of some Tuscan regular troops, Modenese volunteers, and Milanese levies (in all not exceeding five thousand), made a noble defense, and, it is said, put *hors de combat* no less than three thousand of the enemy; but, before so formidable a force, and attacked in front and in flank, they were compelled to give

* Radetzky's Dispatch.

way, and, after a resistance of several hours, sought shelter in Peschiera and on the other side of the Mincio.

On the evening of that day the victorious Austrians had their head-quarters at San Giorgio; the first corps stood on the Mincio, the second in Castel Novo, and the van-guard against Peschiera. They had thus covered the whole line of the left bank of the Mincio, and regained the entire territory from the foot of Monte Baldo, between the Upper Adige and the Lake of Garda, and all the heights between the Upper Adige and the Mincio, from Busolongo to Valeggio. All this they accomplished in one day, although it took the King of Piedmont two months to establish himself in the same position. "By this operation," says Marshal Radetzky, "I govern now all the hostile passages over the Mincio at Peschiera, Salionze, and Monzanbano, and threaten that of Valeggio. I have a strong position against Villa-Franca and Roverbella, the communications with the Tyrol are open, and that land free from further hostilities." On Monday morning, the 24th, the Austrians attempted the passage of the Mincio at two different points. Under the fire of the enemy, who had fallen back from Sondra, at Salionze, three miles below Peschiera, the Austrians laid double pontoon bridges across the river, and accomplished its passage with two brigades of the reserve corps, and one of the first army corps; and at Ponti, three miles on the right bank, captured three cannons and twenty-six wagons. At the same time, another brigade of the latter corps advanced over Brentina to Monzanbano, took the bridge after a short engagement, and occupied the latter town. The brigade Strassaldo, of the division of Prince Schwartzenberg of the first army corps, occupied it the same day, and the brigade Wohlgemuth advancing the next morning to Borghetto, opposite Valeggio, the bridge was immediately restored; three passages over the Mincio were thus secured to the imperialists, and they were safe from an attack on either side of the river.

On learning the disasters of Rivoli, the King of Piedmont advanced at once with six thousand from Marmirol, in the neighborhood of Mantua—the ill-chosen head-quarters whence all his misfortunes date—giving orders to the Duke of Savoy to follow with all his troops that could be collected. In this

way, a body of about thirty thousand men were concentrated at Villa-Franca, and on that night (Tuesday) and the next morning the whole advanced in good order, and burning to avenge the defeat on the Mincio. On the evening previous, Marshal Radetzky was informed that the enemy had forced the brigade of Major-general Simbschen at Custoza, advanced to Monte Godio, and taken the heights of Custoza. Learning that they intended to attack his positions from Custoza to Valeggio, and to give a general battle, the marshal ordered the third army corps to march from Castel Novo against Peschiera, and to blockade that fortress from the right and from the left side of the Mincio; the second army corps, stationed at the same place, to occupy the position between Custoza and Somma Campagna; and the four brigades, stationed on the right side of the Mincio, to repair back that night across the river, over Salionze, Monzambano, and Borghetto, and to take place in the centre of the right wing of the army, as re-enforcement.* In that position, the Austrians, having every confidence in their superior skill and discipline over the enemy, calmly awaited the onset.

The principal attack was directed against Custoza, Somma Campagna, and Sona. The attack was impetuous, and the resistance obstinate; but the numbers and valor of the Piedmontese prevailed, and all the positions were, for a moment, in their possession; but the Austrians, re-enforced by the troops which Marshal Radetzky had prudently recrossed over the Mincio, the Piedmontese were driven back. Undaunted by this reverse, the gallant troops of Charles Albert re-formed at the foot of the heights, and again advanced, carrying every thing before them; but, as they ascended the heights, they were again met by increased forces, and the battle hung for some time in suspense. The Sardinian troops had now fought from five in the morning until five in the evening. As usual, they were left without refreshment, and no care had been taken to provide for a reverse. At this moment, by the orders of Radetzky, who seemed to have calculated every thing with the greatest precision, a large body of fresh troops issued from Verona, and fell upon

* Radetzky's Dispatch.

the flank of the exhausted Sardinians, while the other force renewed its attack in front. Charles Albert was obliged to yield victory and withdraw to Villa-Franca. The troops on both sides behaved with great gallantry. The heat of the day was so excessive, that several of the Austrian soldiers fell dead in the ranks while marching. During the thickest of the fight, at Custoza, the king and his two sons, and the regiment of carabineers, were completely surrounded, and must have fallen into the hands of the Austrians, had not the brigade of Savoy made a dash for them, and gallantly liberated their monarch and the princes.

The conquered Piedmontese retired on Villa-Franca, a place quite open to the plain, which the enemy might have carried, had they not been prevented by exhaustion or other plans in view; and the night closed, in that village, on the broken fortunes of the King of Piedmont, who was destined never again to witness another prosperous day. The imprudence and folly of the king, which led to this, and consequently to all his disasters is by many, ascribed to the fact of his being the victim of a stratagem practiced upon him. It appears that, a few days before, one of the most influential personages of the Austrian army (Prince Lichtenstein) was taken prisoner, and conducted to his majesty; and but little doubt was entertained that he had put himself in the way of being captured, that he might more fully concert the plot to which Charles Albert fell a victim. It was with great astonishment that the army saw this personage liberated and allowed to re-enter Mantua; but he was released, it was said, after having agreed with the king, for the price of one million of francs, to deliver up the fortress. The object of this stratagem was to get the King of Piedmont to withdraw from the left of his lines a considerable proportion of his forces, in which event Radetzky saw that he might strike a severe blow. To effect this, it was made one of the conditions of the transaction, that a great body of troops should be drawn round Mantua, and an effective blockade established, in order that it might be believed that the garrison surrendered from necessity only, and from the fact that the gate nearest the Piedmontese had been forced.

At the earliest dawn of day, the king abandoned Villa-Fran-

ca, and crossed the Mincio to Goito, which had been for some time his head-quarters, which was well fortified, and where he expected to have made an effectual stand. On the same day, Radetzky marched, with his army in two columns, on Pozzalenga—not desiring to attack the strong position of Goito in front, or follow up the king in his retreat from Villa-Franca by Roverbella, across the Mincio to it—crossed a large body of troops over the Mincio at Salionze, a station higher up the river, and carried an overwhelming mass from Monzambano on Volta, and from that height attacked Goito in the rear, and quickly dislodged the Piedmontese. Prodigies of valor were performed by the gallant Savoyards. A regiment of Savoy troops actually retook and held Volta for several hours, by a charge of bayonets, against a strong battery of Croats, supported by double their number. But the greatest courage, unaided by able and experienced officers, to direct the movements of the troops, could not prevail in opposition to highly disciplined soldiers, under the command of skillful and distinguished generals; and the Piedmontese were forced to abandon, not only Volta, but their intrenched camp at Goito, beyond it, with all their cannon. The defeat was so total, that the private coffers of the King of Piedmont, containing two millions of francs, as well as all the table service of silver, and his equipage, fell into the hands of the Austrians. In consequence of this defeat, the king demanded a truce, which was granted by Marshal Radetzky, on the condition of his immediate retreat over the Oglio. A longer truce, to extend until the 28th, prescribed the surrender of Venice, Peschiera, and Osopo to the Austrian troops, and an immediate retreat behind the Adda.

These terms, considered by Charles Albert too humiliating, were declined; and the field-marshal, in consequence of the refusal, continued his pursuit of the enemy. The king, in his retreat from Goito, passed the night of the 27th at Asola; and the next day crossed the Oglio and proceeded to Bozzalo, a small town between the Oglio and the Po; and the remains of "the grand army" were encamped in the same direction. At three o'clock, on the morning of the 29th, the king, after leaving that place and making a short circuit to the different posts, proceeded to Cremona.

On the same day, the first army corps of the imperialists arrived at Casal Romana, the second corps at Cunetto. The vans of both corps stood on the Oglio. The reserves were at Aqua Negra. The fourth corps advanced from Mantua to Marcaria.

The king, on reaching Cremona, renewed his demand for a truce. But now Radetzky demands full reparation for all the expenses of the war. Of the grand Italian army, which lately numbered eighty thousand men, there were not twenty thousand in all available for service. The others were disposed of, on a rough calculation, in the following manner: in hospitals previous to the late affair, fifteen thousand; killed, wounded, and prisoners within the past week, ten thousand; dispersed in regiments and half regiments, some at Brescia, some at Lonato, and others at Cremona, twenty thousand; deserters, principally Lombardians and Modanese, five thousand; stragglers that crossed the Po and returned toward Piedmont, ten thousand. The army was completely broken up, and could no longer be united; though it was attempted to collect all those who retired on Brescia or Cremona, and again unite them with the divisions still under the orders of the king, consisting of the remains of the brigades of Aosta, of Guardo, of Savoy, and of Corny, and the major part of the artillery, and about twenty-two hundred lancers.

It was perfectly vain for the king to attempt with such a force to oppose a victorious army, high in spirits, supplied with every thing, and directed with consummate skill. What a striking instance of the uncertainty of all human affairs do not the events of these few days present! One week before, and the proud Piedmontese army, numbering from fifty to sixty thousand men, extended from the Upper Adige along the whole line of the Mincio to Mantua—every hill-top fortified and bristling, with an army exulting in the consciousness of strength, superior in numbers to the enemy, and now scattered to the winds, so that no *rappel* or trump of war can call together one third of their number.

For these disasters the king himself is, in a great measure, censurable. His own inexperience in battle, and his undue preference for generals who knew nothing of the art of war,

and who neither possessed or deserved the confidence of the troops, were strong obstacles to his success. One great error of Charles Albert was his removal of the Duke of Genoa and Colonel La Marmora from Rivoli, and intrusting that important point at the extreme of the left wing to a force not exceeding eight hundred men. He was also wrong in depriving the position commencing on the Adige and extending to Valeggio, on the Mincio, of all but five thousand men; and he was still more unwise in collecting forty thousand men on the extreme right, around Mantua, in such a manner that they were unable to assist each other or re-enforce in time any part of the line. Of all these blunders his veteran adversary knew how to take full advantage. He contrived, at the expense of a few men, to occupy the king's attention at Governolo and at Ostiglia, until his plans were ripe, his re-enforcements had arrived, and he had prepared the torrent with which he overwhelmed his adversary. Marshal Radetzky, in like manner, evinced great skill in not following the king to Villa-Franca and Goito, but in crossing the Mincio in the centre of the line, winning the race to the heights of Volta, and thus turning the position of Goito, which had been strengthened with so much care against an attack in front from Mantua; by which the Piedmontese were driven into the low grounds and kept there, while the Austrian general commanded all the heights, and could extend his lines without risk between the Mincio and the Oglio, so as to force the enemy to the Po, while he could cross the Oglio when and where he pleased.

But the King of Piedmont's disasters were ascribable not only to his want of proficiency in the science of war, but to his utter ignorance or neglect of the very details of service, especially in the organization of a good commissariat. At a moderate calculation, one tenth of the Piedmontese, it was thought, fell not from the fire of the enemy, but from want of food and excessive fatigue. For three days, and during the hardest fighting, the troops were without proper supplies of food—men dropping from hunger on the road, because fresh troops were not detailed at the right moment, or necessary provisions seasonably furnished. Bread and wine, it is believed, were sent at intervals to the men, but that the wagoners took to flight,

and, cutting their traces, escaped with their horses, leaving their loaded wagons in the road. The ammunition carts were said to have been deserted in like manner. These things were not accidents, but criminal oversights, because sufficient escorts were not sent to control the drivers or take their place in case of need.

Another great error was also committed, and which accounts for the rapidity of the defeat. All the new levies had been drafted into Sardinian second battalions, in the proportion of two and three to one, in the expectation that the good example of one third old soldiers would fortify the courage of the two thirds of younger. But the consequence was that the two thirds ran, and the one third who remained were slaughtered on the spot. A position thought to be defended by fifteen hundred was, in reality, defended only by five hundred; and thus points were given up which it was of the utmost importance to preserve.

At Cremona, the King of Piedmont published two orders of the day, to the effect that he, anxious to give the troops some repose after their late fatigues, had applied for an armistice; but the terms were not honorable to the army, and he had refused them. He therefore called on officers and men to remember that the enemy was still before them, and to join him in making due exertion to save the common cause and interest of all.

The deep thunder of the cannon heard at Cremona on the 30th of July gave notice that the Austrians were crossing the Oglio; and the king, quitting Cremona, began to make dispositions to receive the enemy; and, as the artillery was still in tolerable condition, and the cavalry not much cut up, sanguine hopes were entertained of being able to make an effective stand. The line of the Adda* was taken: the river immortalized by the affair of the bridge of Lodi, in Napoleon's campaign. The first line on the left bank, extending from Crema to Pizzighetone (a small fortress on that stream), and the second on the right bank, from Lodi to Codogno, a considerable

* On this stream occurred the victory of Aignadel, gained by the French on the 14th of May, 1509, which laid Lombardy prostrate.

town between Cremona and Lodi, and where the head-quarters of the king were established after abandoning Cremona.

To turn to the movements of the Austrians after the victory of Goito. By orders of Radetzky, Strassaldo advanced to Brescia. Every where the troops met with a most cordial reception from the peasantry.

The two cannons taken from the brigade Simbschen, on the heights of Custoza, were recaptured at Goito. Field-marshal Lichtenstein distributed among the army the two millions of francs belonging to Charles Albert, and taken in the battle of Goito.

Three army corps cross the Oglio, after a small engagement between the vans, on the 30th; the fourth advanced from Marcaria over Bozzolo. The first and second army corps, with the reserves, take position at Godesco and St. Ambrogio, two miles from Cremona. The field-marshal took up his head-quarters that night in Cremona, which the same morning, in haste, Charles Albert had abandoned.

In that city Charles Albert could not procure provisions; where, as soon as they heard of the king's approach, the Provisional Government dissolved, and the National Guard decamped. No preparations whatever were made for the troops: they were left without wine or provisions, and, to all appearance, were in an enemy's country. At the approach of the Austrians, how changed their conduct! A deputation was sent out to announce the submission of the place, a flattering address delivered, bands playing, one hundred oxen presented, and provisions of all kinds, as well as a large sum in ready cash. The town was illuminated for three successive nights in honor of the emperor, and the Austrians every where hailed as their deliverers, with the cry, "*I nostri liberatori!*" The King of Piedmont, still at Codogno, had proposed to change his head-quarters to a small place called Casele, in the direction of Piacenza, but the unexpected arrival of Mr. Abercrombie, British minister at Turin (whose object was to tender his services toward procuring a truce between the parties), induced him to countermand that order.

Mr. Abercrombie, accompanied by the French minister to Turin, after two hours' interview with the king, started for

Cremona, in search of Marshal Radetzky. At the interview between the marshal and the ministers, Radetzky, so far from granting a six days' truce, refused to give a single hour; and he stated firmly, but most courteously, to the ministers his intention of following up the Piedmontese army to the gates of Milan, and of entering it in triumph on the next or the succeeding day.*

The king, on hearing from Mr. Abercrombie, who returned immediately to Lodi (to which place his majesty's head-quarters had been changed), the result of the interview with Radetzky, instantly abandoned all idea of defending the line of the Adda, and resolved to concentrate all his troops before Milan, and there decline or accept a final battle with his enemy. The order of march was given, and the road to Milan was soon covered by the long train of artillery, cavalry, infantry, and luggage. The brigade of Savoy was left to cover the retreat, and to watch the ever-memorable, but now blazing bridge of Lodi, set fire to by orders of a captain of a Lombard company, much to the regret of all the high officers of the army.

The king and the royal dukes abandoned Lodi at ten o'clock at night for Milan, and, whether in accordance with a declaration, made at the opening of the campaign, that he would not enter that city but as a conqueror, or for the purpose of encouraging the troops by sharing their quarters, the king did not, upon his arrival at the Lombardian capital, enter the gates, but took up his quarters in a small house a little removed from the Porta Romana.

The Piedmontese army occupied a line about two miles distant from Milan, the left resting on the villages in front of the Porta Romana, and the right on those in advance of the Porta Ticinese; in fact, making face to the country through which the Austrians must advance from Lodi and the other points at which they crossed the Adda. To all appearance, it seemed at that time the intention of Charles Albert to decide the matter there, if the troops were resolved to do their duty.

* The old marshal, it would seem, was determined on restoring the status quo ante bellum, and of occupying Lombardy to the Po and the Ticino before the French troops, said to be on their way, could possibly arrive, and thus of converting them from an auxiliary into an invading force.

In the mean time, Radetzky, having left a brigade to garrison Cremona, continued his operations against the Adda with four army corps. On the 2d of August, he passed the Adda, with the first and second army corps, at Crotta d'Adda, and with the fourth army corps at Formigara. The enemy occupying the left of the river were driven back, and the marshal, surrounding the fortress of Pizzighettone, forced the enemy, by that operation, to abandon Formigara. The Austrians advanced incessantly toward Milan; the wing passing through Crema encountered no opposition. After a short engagement between the Austrian van and Piedmontese rear, Lodi is taken. Radetzky then dispatches two cavalry divisions in the direction of Boffalara, to take Milan in the rear, while he would operate with the main forces in front.

The marshal, leaving Lodi on the morning of the 4th, advanced with the first and second army corps as far as San Donati, when they became engaged with the enemy in their positions before Milan. The first army corps occupied the enemy in front, while General Clamm succeeded in passing around, to take him on the right flank. The Piedmontese were soon overpowered, and driven back under the very walls of the city. A whole battery, four officers, and one hundred and twenty men, were captured. In consequence of this reverse, an order for all the troops to retire into the city was given. The king took up his head-quarters in the remains of the ruined citadel, and the enemy lined the bastions, which overlook and command the country.

At the same moment, it having been understood that the king meant to defend the city, a placard was posted up, ordering the tocsin to be sounded, and barricades to be erected in all the streets. The order was at once obeyed. While all the church bells were set in motion, the men, women, and children commenced the erection of barricades, and in the course of two hours the face of the city was quite changed; barricades were constructed every twenty yards, and heaps of small paving stones carried up by the servants to the several floors, to be showered on the heads of the Croats, as was done during the five days. All this was great madness and folly; for if the Austrians forced the city, every house would be sacked and

plundered; and, with an army burning to revenge the treatment they received during the first outbreak, it might become a heap of ruins. The Provisional Government had been abolished, in order that the defense without the lines might not have the appearance of originating with the citizens, but undertaken simply by order of the king's governor, General Olivieri. But what excuse could now be rendered, when Radetzky would have the evidence of the barricades before his eyes, hear the tocsin sounded from every tower, and learn from his spies that the inhabitants were all compromised. About five o'clock, the French chargé d'affaires and the English consul proposed to visit the head-quarters of Radetzky, to claim a suspension of arms for a few hours, to enable them to provide for the safe exit of French and British subjects. The party set out; but by the time an escort was provided, it was ascertained that the Austrians had for the moment retired, and the mission did not then take place. With that facility of invention peculiar to the Italians, reports were immediately circulated that the enemy had been beaten off; that several pieces of cannon and several hundreds of prisoners had been taken; and the people, inspired by such favorable tidings, worked at the barricades more earnestly than ever, while every body capable of carrying a musket rushed to the bastions. Popular enthusiasm was now at its height; and if the people and army were really united, and the *morale* of the latter had not been lost, they might have offered a most formidable, if not effectual resistance. At eleven o'clock at night, two of the king's generals,* charged with a special message from his majesty, accompanied by the diplomatic authorities mentioned above, set out for the head-quarters of the Austrian commander. Owing to a mistake in the night-signals made by the Austrian outposts, the party were fired at several times, but at length reached the quarters of Radetzky. The missions being totally distinct, the diplomatic authorities declined being present at the interview of the Piedmontese officers with the Austrian commander. The generals were first admitted, and after a conference, which lasted two hours, withdrew. The consuls

* Generals Rossi and Lazzari.

were then admitted; and when they intimated their desire to obtain a forty hours' truce, Radetzky exclaimed "For what purpose, when they have capitulated?" This was the first notice given of so important a fact; and on the diplomatists retiring, and questioning the generals on the subject, they admitted that the basis of a capitulation was drawn, with which they were about returning to the king to obtain his sanction. At seven o'clock in the morning the party returned to Milan. The generals waited on the king; and they were followed, in a short time, by the chargé and consul, for the purpose of ascertaining what his majesty's answer might be, as their ulterior proceedings depended on the capitulation being accepted or declined. During their stay at the citadel, a message was dispatched to Radetzky, bearing the king's answer, acceding to the terms of capitulation. What were the terms was not then known; but, whatever they might be, it was most shameful to have authorized and commanded the erection of barricades and the sounding of the tocsin, when, up to that time, not a circumstance had occurred which could have given umbrage to the Austrians. Why did not Charles Albert at once retire beyond the Ticino, and allow Milan to follow the example of the other cities of Lombardy, and, after the persons most compromised had fled, open its gates to its old masters. Within a few minutes after the dispatch of the king's answer, accepting the terms laid down by Radetzky, the whole city was in possession of the fact. The excitement became intense; and, as soon as the reports were confirmed by the departure of some of the household troops, and many of the royal equipages, in the direction of Turin, it amounted almost to desperation. Groups flew through all the streets exclaiming, "We are sold!" "We are betrayed!" The drums of the National Guard beat to arms! and men, with muskets on their shoulders, ran like maniacs from place to place, willing to do mischief, but not knowing where to commence.

The populace were fortunately without leaders. The most violent of them collected in the square of the Scala theatre, and in the Corsia del Giardino, before the Casa Greppi, in which the king was now lodged, and there, finding several carriages prepared for the journey, they at once cut the harness,

withdrew the horses, and overturned the equipages. This was accompanied by the most insulting expressions against the king, but not against the Piedmontese; and so great was the distinction made that the officers and dragoons who formed the escort of the carriages were compelled to dismount, and were embraced by the people with loud cries of "Long live the Piedmontese army, but death to the traitor Charles Albert!"

A body of National Guards at once took possession of the Casa Greppi, in effect constituting the king a prisoner, and several filled the rooms leading to the royal apartments, loudly declaring that, come what might, Charles Albert should not depart. At the same time, emissaries were dispatched to the several gates, and large bodies of National Guards, assisted by an unarmed mob, resolutely barred ingress or egress. The gates leading toward Turin were blocked up and barricaded, and, with the most violent denunciations, the people declared that the traitor should not be permitted to escape.

About this time, the only two persons belonging to the late Provisional Government, General Pompro Letta and the Abbé Annelli, who had not abandoned the people, drew up a paper to the following effect, which they first read to the crowd, and then sent into the king: "We, the only two members of the government who remain at our post, learning by public rumor that a capitulation, injurious to the honor of all Italy and of the city of Milan, has been made with the Austrian general, in the most urgent manner entreat your majesty to give us some explanation on this important matter." In a short time afterward, both these gentlemen appeared upon the square, and read a declaration of this nature: "The king has assured us on his word of honor, and he offers his life as a guarantee that he will fight with the force of the whole army to the last moment." This declaration calmed, in some degree, the violence of the crowd; but it was no less generally believed that a capitulation had been made. Still, some color was given to the king's words by the march of the Piedmontese troops having been suspended, and the preparations for his majesty's departure abandoned. The same disorder prevailed during the day in every part of the city, and so far did it proceed that it is believed that the king was compelled to inform the field-

marshal that it was not in his power to fulfill the terms of the capitulation. Although in point of form the capitulation was broken off, in consequence of the violence of the people, Radetzky was not disposed to regard it in that light, and remained perfectly quiet, without a single shot being fired from his advanced posts. The people did not partake of that opinion, and they were seen on every side strengthening their barricades, and apparently preparing for a resolute defense. The day and afternoon passed in this manner; but at nightfall the tumult became so violent near the king's residence, that the Duke of Genoa came to the balcony and requested the people to abstain from such angry and violent demonstrations, as his majesty was much indisposed, and earnestly desired repose. The amiable and gallant prince was received with a volley of hisses; the king was again called a traitor, and he a deceiver. The duke declared that he and his father were determined to fight to the last; but even this did not satisfy, and he withdrew amid cries of "Death to the traitor!" "Death to the impostor!" Several houses in the suburbs were set on fire, and the horrors of the situation increased by the city being overhung for several hours of the night by a canopy of flame.

After this demonstration on the part of the people, the King of Piedmont, alarmed for his personal safety, resolved to leave Milan. Taking advantage of the obscurity of the night, as well as of the great confusion which prevailed, surrounded by his household troops, who suddenly dispersed the crowd that blocked up the *contrada* by a charge of cavalry and blank discharges of artillery, the king escaped about three o'clock in the morning, amid the shots and curses of the populace. Although some of his suite were wounded, the king and the Duke of Genoa fortunately escaped with their lives from the violent hands of the very population which, a few months before, hailed them as their deliverers.

During the night the Archbishop of Milan and the temporary podesta went out to the head-quarters of Field-marshal Radetzky, for the purpose of informing him of the true state of affairs within the city, and of deprecating his wrath. This was a most judicious step; and it was quite evident, from the forbearance shown by the Austrian troops during the night and

next morning, that Radetzky felt aware that the king broke off the agreement of capitulation merely to satisfy the clamor of the moment, and that, after a few hours, when the temporary madness was over, its conditions would be fulfilled. At five next morning the tumult had ceased, the tricolor flags were withdrawn from many of the balconies, and the barricades were in a state of active demolition. It was evident that the fever had passed away, and that the people were now as much depressed as they were on the previous day excited. Indeed, the best proof which can be given of their having returned to their senses is, that they allowed the free circulation of the following printed notice:

"Agreeably to the basis of a convention, concluded by his majesty Charles Albert and his excellency Field-marshal Radetzky, the latter will occupy militarily, at eight to-morrow (this) morning, the Porta Romana, and at twelve will enter the city. There is every reason to believe that the population of Milan will not suffer. It is strongly recommended that the barricades, tricolored flags, and cockades be removed as quickly as possible.

"BASSE, Podesta."
"TAVERNE, Assessor."

In fact, this advice was implicitly followed; all the barricades were removed with the same expedition with which they were raised (save in the vicinity of the Porta Romana, where the low mob still domineered); and even the pavement, ripped up the day before in such haste, was rapidly re-laid.

The Austrian civil and military authorities took quiet possession of the city. The change was effected with the most perfect order; not a rude expression was heard from the people during the passage of the troops; and as the Austrian army ever maintains the strictest discipline, no offense was given on their part. It being the Sabbath, nearly all the shops were closed; and so many of the inhabitants being absent on account of the season, or had fled from fear, or accompanied the retreat of the Piedmontese troops, that the city presented a dismal appearance indeed. The windows of the Corso were not,

as usual, crowded, and the long array of artillery, dragoons, hussars, lancers, and infantry defiled through it in the most solemn silence. At an early hour, according to the capitulation, the principal gates were occupied; but it was not till late in the afternoon that the whole army made its triumphant entry. The troops were in fine condition; the uniforms varied and splendid, and their appearance, almost fit for parade, presented a striking contrast to the soiled dress and fatigued looks of the brave but defeated Piedmontese, who, during the night, and at an early hour, had taken their departure. The peace of the city was preserved, and the palaces of the nobility protected from further pillage by detachments of the National Guard, who, by order of the podesta, appeared in uniform for that purpose. The damage done by the mob was inconsiderable, save in the palaces of the Dukes of Litta and Visconti. In both, many of the finest pieces of furniture and glasses were broken; but most of the objects abstracted by the thieves were afterward recovered by the police. Before nightfall, all the measures of the Austrian civil and military authorities were taken, the few persons then in the city reposed in the most perfect security; and those who had taken refuge with their respective consuls returned to their own homes. No military precautions, however, were neglected by the commander-in-chief. The Austrian artillery were placed on the bastions as a hint to the ill disposed, and an order of the day issued, declaring the city in a state of siege, and stating that all offenses against good order would be punished according to martial law. By this hour the Piedmontese army had crossed the Ticino, and rested within its own frontiers.

The news now reached Marshal Radetzky that Pavia had surrendered to the fourth army corps; Brescia had opened its gates before the troops under D'Aspre on the 6th; on the following day, Prince Schwartzenberg had entered Bergamo under the acclamations of the people; the second army corps occupied the cities of Como, Lecco, and Sandria; the fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo, and Osopo were delivered up, agreeably to the terms of the truce* entered into with the

* For Armistice, see Appendix, note 6.

King of Piedmont, and the whole of Lombardy was evacuated by the enemy. Thus, in the short space of a fortnight from the time that Radetzky took the offensive, had the Piedmontese army—which, in the pride of their conquests, possessed themselves of the whole of Lombardy (with the exception alone of the little spot on which stands the fortress of Mantua), and a considerable portion of the Venetian kingdom—been defeated at Rivoli, Somma Campagna, Custoza, Volta, Cremona, Pizzighettone, and Milan, and driven completely beyond the frontiers of the imperial territories; in the language of Radetzky, in his address to his troops after entering Milan; "You have marched from victory to victory; and, in the short space of a fortnight, advanced victoriously from the Adige to the Ticino. The imperial flag waves again from the walls of Milan, and no enemy any longer treads the Lombardian territory."*

* Radetzky's Address.



CHAPTER III.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF VENICE, FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE LATE REVOLUTION.—THE EXPULSION OF THE AUSTRIANS, AND PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ST. MARK.—ITS EXISTENCE FOR UPWARD OF A YEAR, AND FINAL OVERTHROW.—BESIEGED BY LAND AND BLOCKADED BY SEA.

VENICE, the proud city of the lagoons, whether we contemplate her peculiar geographical position, her once boundless power and commercial prosperity, or her political longevity, without a parallel in the annals of human society, must be regarded as one of the most interesting as well as remarkable states that ever existed.

In the early part of the fifth century, a small band of fugitives, from Padua, Aquileia, and other adjacent Roman colonies, escaping from the all-wasting sword of Attila and the devastations of the Goths, sought refuge amid the marshes and shallows of the Adriatic, formed by the deposits of sand carried down by the rivers which, descending from the Alps, fall into that gulf; and there, amid the waters, founded a city destined to preserve its independence for nearly fourteen hundred years, to resist successfully the combined arms of Europe, become the conqueror of Constantinople and Athens, and "to reign over the Archipelago, the Morea, Candia, Cyprus, and the finest quarter of the Roman empire."

This remarkable state, emerging from the bosom of the waves in the darkest ages of Italian misery, before the empire of Rome was swept away, endured through the northern irruptions; and, having been finally extinguished within our own times, its history forms a connecting chain—perhaps the only one that can now be traced—between the Europe of the Romans, of the Middle Ages, and of modern times; or, as her eloquent historian* has described her, enthroned upon the gulf whence her palaces emerge, contemplating the successive

* Sismondi.

changes of dynasties and continual invasions, with the whole shifting scene of human revolutions, until, in her own time, as the last surviving witness of antiquity, and as the link between the two periods of civilization, she has herself bowed under the humbling hand of the destroyer.

Detestation of monarchy and love of independence, as her history discloses, were the leading principles by which Venice was guided from her birth as a nation—distinguished through all the changes of a long and eventful history—and which actuated, in a measure at least, the last movement, when, on the 17th of March, 1848, the double-headed eagle of Austria was torn from the standard before the cathedral, and its place supplied by the winged lion of St. Mark.

In submitting to the common necessity of obeying one leader in war, and having a supreme magistrate to guard their laws, maintain their religion, and preside over the ordinary tribunals, the Venetians never, for a moment, relinquished their right of conferring these powers by election, but continually asserted their power to degrade the possessor from the throne to which they had raised him (nor did they deem any means for the attainment of this end unlawful); and they gradually limited his authority, until at length they subjected him to the control of an aristocracy, which derived its constitutional claim to represent the people from the natural influence of wealth, and the respect derived from a long line of renowned ancestors.

To vest the substantial power in an oligarchy like this, arising from the very nature of civil society, it is only necessary that its members should act with some degree of concert; but the Venetian *few* matured this concert into an artful and organized conspiracy; and, by carefully preserving the republican forms, and cherishing the hatred of monarchy and love of independence, continued to augment their power without awakening suspicion; while, as a means of accommodating the primitive laws of the land to their exclusive interest, they seized on every opportunity of bringing into operation such arbitrary expedients as, in former ages, had only been resorted to in cases of extraordinary emergency. The authority and number of these unconstitutional precedents thus gradually increased, until they came to be regarded as practical parts of the Constitu-

tion, and, in fact, furnished the elements out of which the state inquisition was formed, and to which Venice must ascribe her gradual decay and ultimate downfall.

A brief reference to the history of Venice will not only illustrate these events, but exhibit a view of the stages by which democracy gradually dwindled into hereditary aristocracy, and that, in its turn, into a mysterious and unrelenting oligarchy.

The fugitives who first peopled the lagoons of the Adriatic were governed by magistrates sent from Padua, and the Constitution was consequently a consular one; but when the metropolis was, a short time after, devastated by the incursions of the barbarians (A.D. 450–60), the little colonies were emancipated from her guardianship, and left to maintain, as they could, their feeble independence. They established tribunes or judges, of which the number was twelve, and the election annual; and these officers were bound to govern the republic, with the concurrence of a popular Assembly.

This Constitution—which might be called a rude federative democracy—lasted for more than two centuries and a half.

Little inequality, and less ambition, could subsist so long as their manners remained simple and uncorrupted; but frugality and industry brought competence; this rapidly augmented into wealth; and then came the trial. Dissensions arose among those who aspired to govern, intrigues in the annual elections, licentiousness among the people, and all the symptoms of civil war existed, at the very time when their struggles with external enemies imperiously demanded union and co-operation. In this emergency, they elected, for the first time, a chief magistrate, called a doge, who was to hold his office for life (A.D. 697). This title, which is a corruption of Dux,* while it excluded the idea of sovereignty, more peculiarly indicated the office of leader of the national armies.

Having thus provided a conductor of their wars abroad, and combined vigor in the government with security to popular rights at home, their determination never to yield even the shadow of their political independence acquired new strength.

Their jealousy of the power of one man is also evidenced by

* Dux-leader.

the fates of their successive doges. Of the forty-three who reigned in the course of three hundred years, scarcely one half concluded their career in peace. Five were compelled to abdicate; three were assassinated by conspirators; one was condemned to death according to legal form; and nine sentenced to be deposed and deprived of sight, or sent into exile; and sometimes many of these punishments were united. Some only escaped them by dying on the field of battle. Yet few, if any, of these victims had brought any great calamity on the republic, while many had extended her dominion and her fame, by the acquisition of extensive provinces on the Adriatic, and by planting some of those colonies in the Archipelago, which afterward facilitated her conquests in the East, and aided the growth of her adventurous commerce.

Considering that these magistrates were restrained by no specific forms, and punishable by no process but the blind fury of the mob, it is wonderful how the state was preserved from hereditary obedience to a ducal family.

The audacious attempt of a member of the family of Urseolo to seat himself, without even the form of popular suffrage, on the throne which several of his illustrious house had occupied with honor, awakened the jealousy of the Venetians, and produced, in 1032, a fundamental law of state, that the reigning doge should never associate a son in the administration.

One hundred and forty years were suffered to elapse before any further alteration was attempted in the Venetian Constitution; and it was at length, during the anarchy which followed the murder of a doge, that the Council of Justice, the only permanent deliberative body of the state, persuaded the people to adopt a political system, which at once offered security against the exercise of arbitrary power by the doge, and obviated, at the same time, the inconvenience of the general and tumultuous assemblies of the people. It is not known by what skillful address the Council of Justice prevailed upon the people to consent to an innovation which, in a great measure, deprived the democracy of its influence; but from this period (1112) may certainly be dated the foundation of the oligarchical government of Venice.

The persecutions and punishments which thus followed ev-

ery attempt on the part of the doges to render the throne hereditary, and the judicial trials and executions by which the state repressed all schemes of personal ambition, afford the strongest proofs that the abhorrence of the Venetians for the government of one man continued unabated during the first seven centuries of their political existence.

Thus slowly and imperceptibly arose that aristocratical domination which prepared the way for the silent usurpations of the oligarchy, and was at length matured into the tremendous despotism of the State Inquisition. The doge was, in fact, no more than one of an oligarchy; their nominal chief was reduced to an expensive pageant; in authority he was scarcely a counselor; in the city he was a prisoner of state, and out of it only a private individual. The fit time for beginning to reduce an occasional example into a constant practice appeared to have arrived when the last of the forty-three doges abovementioned was assassinated, and his death succeeded by popular commotions. Eleven individuals, deputed by the council, then elected a doge, upon condition that he should ratify a new Constitution, the conditions of which were, that the people should have the right of confirming or annulling the elections of the doges, but not the power of electing them; that the doge should henceforth have no power to choose his own counselors, but that six individuals, to be called the *Signiors*, should be associated with him, subject, however, to his control, who should form an integral part of the supreme magistracy, and without whose concurrence none of his decrees should be valid; that whenever he might stand in need of a larger number of counselors, he should not, as formerly, request the assistance of those citizens whom he thought most capable of advising him, known as the *Pregadi*, but should consult the council.

The first doge elected in virtue of this Constitution (1172) refused the office; but it was not difficult to find another who accepted it. The second was carried in procession through the city, seated on a throne, and introduced the custom, ever after observed, of throwing gold and silver to the populace. So ready are men to sell their rights, and to admire as munificent liberality that despicable bribe, which they are always willing to receive as the price of their freedom. Meanwhile, the prosper-

ity of the republic, the glory of her victories, and the extent of her conquests constantly increased.

At this time, too, Pope Alexander the Third, fleeing from the ravages of Frederick Barbarossa, sought a refuge in the threshold of St. Mark. Barbarossa pursued him, but received a severe defeat (A.D. 1177) by the Venetians; whereupon the Pope, as a mark of his gratitude, solemnly presented the victorious Doge Ziani with a ring in the cathedral, and accompanied his gift with these words: "Receive this as an earnest of the empire of the sea, and marry her to thee every year, in order that posterity may know that she is under thy jurisdiction by right of conquest, and that I consecrate the same to thee, placing her under thy dominion as I would subject a wife to that of her husband."* From that time the doges annually wedded the Adriatic, and a custom which appears ludicrous to us was looked upon as sacred, and was productive of important consequences in that and many succeeding ages.

The winged lion of St. Mark had now attained its maturity. The most important commercial power of the age, she monopolized the trade with India; the great route from Western Europe and Augsburg (at that time the commercial metropolis) lay through Venice. The spices, precious stones, and Oriental luxuries, brought by caravans from the East through Candabar and Persia, or by the northern routes, and along the Caspian and Euxine Seas, or up the Euphrates and overland to some of the Syrian sea-ports, or by the way of the Red Sea and Egypt, were transported chiefly by Venetian vessels, and exchanged for European manufactures, rendered both continents tributary to the state, which held the power to supply their wants or relieve their necessities.

Their success in the India trade inspired them with the project of obtaining possession of Egypt, and opening the communication between the Red Sea and the Nile, or the Mediterranean—a project which, although duly appreciated by the great powers of Western Europe, is, perhaps, not nearer its

* The validity of this donation, though made by a Pope, was disputed at the time, and the controversy was continued through many centuries—a controversy not unlike that which is still agitated with regard to the same subject among more powerful nations, and which nothing but the right of the strongest is competent to decide.

accomplishment than it was six hundred years ago by the Venetians, although the route is now being surveyed by French and Austrian officers, and found altogether practicable.

The romantic age of the crusades was now at its height. A series of succeeding Popes through a century and a half, operating upon the superstitious weakness of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, induced them to lead out expeditions from all the nations of the West to carry on religious wars against the East. This enthusiasm, so disastrous to the other nations, operated alone to the advancement and prosperity of Venice, as the transports for their immense armies could only be supplied by Venice, and were furnished by her at most exorbitant rates.

Still further to increase the power of the "Queen of the Adriatic," the kingdoms of Christendom regarded her as the power best able to resist Saladin, whose capture of Jerusalem, and triumphant march over Palestine and the coast of the Levant, had alarmed all Europe, and called forth to the scene of action such renowned warriors as Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Philip Augustus. ' Frederick Barbarossa met his death after bathing in the Salef (or, as some say, the Cydnus), and before he had reached the scene of action. Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus quarreled after the capture of Acre; the latter returned home, and the former was alone left to combat the victorious sultan.

About this time, the assistance of the republic was asked, and consent to co-operate obtained; but, through the influence of their most artful and far-sighted Doge Dandolo, quite a different direction was given to the expedition, as they were convinced by him that no surer means of regaining the Holy Sepulchre existed than by the establishment of legitimacy at Constantinople, and thus securing for themselves the necessary supplies and assistance for future proceedings. The capital of the Byzantine empire was captured, and all recollection of Jerusalem was obliterated in their division of "the quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and other costly things found there" (which, as they wrote to his holiness the pope), "far exceeds all that could be collected in the city of Rome, and in all our Christendom."

Venice obtained the lion's share of all movable spoil, as well as of all substantial authority and influence in the capital. The former was valued at upward of a million of marks, equal to ten millions of dollars. Her doge was invested with the purple, as "Despot of Romania, and Lord of one fourth and a half of the Roman Empire."

She purchased Candia for ten thousand, or, according to another account, for eighty thousand marks of silver; and retained feudal supremacy over Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Naxos, Paros, Melos, Andros, Mycone, Scyro, Cea, and Lemnos; to which Negropont and some of the most important fortresses in the Morea were afterward added.

Victory seemed to wait upon her nod. The people, intoxicated with military glory, forgot their domestic interests, and allowed their great men to effect one encroachment after another, until every vestige of liberty disappeared. Amid the successes of an aggressive foreign policy, the fabric of aristocratic usurpation was strengthened, which afterward became absolute sovereign of the nation, grasping the whole power of the state, and perpetuating it in their privileged descendants. This revolution, however, unlike most others, neither rushed to its conclusion with precipitate speed, nor was brought about by any sudden catastrophe; but, proceeding by gradual and silent encroachment, so ingrafted itself on the trunk of the Constitution that, though its fruits were somewhat different to the eye, the plant itself, in its nature, seemed to remain unchanged.

One of the first steps in the progress of this revolution, and which forms an era that gives a new aspect to the history of the republic down to the hour of her dissolution, was a new mode devised for electing the head of the government—a mode which remained unchanged to the extinction of the republic. It required that a number of electors, amounting sometimes to forty, should be five times indicated by chance, after which they were to be individually subjected, an equal number of times, to a scrutiny by which most of them were excluded, in order that their names might be replaced by others also drawn by lot. The whole were then subjected to the most rigid examination, in order that those who were eventually retained

as electors might be such as were thoroughly acquainted with that precise combination of qualities which the circumstances of the times and the views of the ruling party required in a doge.* These complicated forms were admirably calculated at once to bewilder the people, and to lead them to imagine that individual interest and design were baffled by the impartial decrees of fate, while in their turn they exercised just that degree of control over fortune necessary to secure the republic against her blind and wayward caprices. With this step, the obvious tendency of which was to reduce the sovereignty of the people to a shadow, and at the same time to enlarge and consolidate the powers of the aristocracy, was mingled, for the sake of blinding the populace, a recurrence to early principles in certain enactments calculated to protect their cherished notion of political independence. First, that the doge should not marry any woman not a native of Venice. This remained ever after inviolate and unchanged. Secondly, that no Venetian should serve any foreign prince, either in war or peace. This, so far as patricians were concerned, was also rigorously observed, and the violation of it inexorably punished. The third, of the new laws, decreed that no Venetian should possess landed property on the continent of Italy. For a time this was enforced, since, with the exception of a few sterile stripes on the shore of the Adriatic, the government itself possessed none. The princely domains of the ancient families were accordingly all situated in the colonies; but in process of time, as they lost their colonies and extended their conquests in Italy, they admitted the most powerful families of the conquered cities into the body of the Venetian aristocracy, and this law was, in consequence, tacitly abolished.

These enactments, which were devised by the reigning party as a means of avoiding the opposite dangers of the revival of popular rights on the one hand, and the introduction of monarchy on the other, were no sooner introduced than they acquired stability and authority, and excited no suspicions in the nation, because they arose directly out of the two original and vital principles of every modification of Venetian government, and fell in with sentiments which appeared to be the indigen-

* Daru's History of Venice.

ous growth of every Venetian bosom, viz., complete national independence, and hatred of a domestic dictatorship.

A circumstance arising out of their foreign relations now tended to increase the power and influence of the oligarchy. The Church having taken upon itself to give the kingdom of Naples to Charles of Anjou, Martin the Fourth,* then occupant of the pontifical chair, proclaimed a crusade against the lawful heir; and, because the Venetian government would not suffer its subjects to take arms in the enterprise, and thus open Italy to French invasion, he launched an excommunication against them, and interdicted the celebration of religious rites within their territory. For three years, during which the republic submitted in silence, no priests officiated at her altars, nor were prayers or offerings presented in her churches. Martin's successor removed the interdict, but on condition that the Holy Inquisition, whose introduction the Venetians had hitherto resisted, should be admitted, and established in perpetuity (A.D. 1286).

Another advance of the oligarchy arose from the circumstance that the aristocratical faction, having the power, succeeded in placing at their head Pietro Grandenigo, who united the advantages of very ancient family and high military reputation, with an inflexible temper and the full vigor and fervor of youth. The right which the people still retained of confirming the election of the head of the republic was not formally abrogated, but was thenceforward, in substance, abolished. One of the electors advanced to a window of the palace, and proclaimed to the people, "*The doge is elected, if you approve him*," and then, without waiting for an answer, retired.

Grandenigo ascended the throne with the resolute determination to found an hereditary aristocracy, or to perish in the effort. He obtained a succession of decrees from the Great Council, which may be esteemed the corner-stone upon which the future pure oligarchy was consolidated.† His encroachments began by effecting the object of a law which had been hitherto successfully resisted, excluding all from the Great Council, excepting such as had already held a seat there, or whose fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers had been

* By some authors, Nicholas the Fourth. † Venetian History, Family Library.

members of that assembly. Assuming that, as the annual elections had almost invariably fallen upon the same individuals, those individuals had therefore established a right; and he did not so much support the claim of re-election to a body of which he already held them to be constituent members, as of determining whether they were still worthy of continuing in it. The annual nomination was abolished as a useless ceremony. By this crowning statute of hereditary rights, every Venetian noble whose paternal ancestors had been of the Great Council became himself entitled to the same dignity on completing his twenty-fifth year. On proof of these qualifications of descent and age, his name was inscribed in the *Golden Book** of nobility, and he assumed his seat in the Great Council, whose numbers were no longer limited. This sovereign body of nobility numbered in the sequel about twelve hundred individuals. This law was afterward modified so as to restrict the privilege to those who had already had a seat in the council for four years. It claimed the privilege of naming the twelve electors by whom it was to be renewed, and consequently, in point of fact, re-elected itself; and, although they appeared to be chosen from year to year, were in reality seated for life. Shortly after, a law was introduced excluding from a a seat in the Great Council all men who had recently risen to opulence, and who were therein first described as *uomini nuovi*, new men (A.D. 1300). Subsequently, a law was proposed and adopted, which Grandenigo, after placing the Great Council exclusively in the hands of the ancient families, caused to be received as a fundamental statute of the republic.

That no one should henceforward be elected nor eligible to sit in the Great Council except those who were then members of it, or their descendants. That this privilege should be hereditary in their families in perpetuity. That the Great Council should be the sovereign power of the state, and that it should elect all the magistrates from among its own body. This decree, which bears in history the name of "*The closing of the Council*,"† marks the point from which may be dated the second period in the history of the republic, which ended only with the fall of its power.

* Il Libro d'Oro. † La Serrata del Mazor Consejo.

The period which followed was totally unlike the former, rather, however, in its substantial effects than in its external appearances. Contemplating, within the space of a few pages, the steps of this mighty change, the contrast between the earlier character of the government and that which it bore to its dissolution appears immense. But it must be recollected that this revolution was the result of changes so slow as to be almost imperceptible, changes tending to one conclusion, through a long course of ages, by the very nature of human society; it will be perceived that the nation was scarcely aware of them until it was too late to repair the evil, and that familiarity with slavery, and forgetfulness of absolute rights, gradually prepared it for deeper degradation.

This revolution, unexampled for the skillful combination of its causes and the permanence of its effects, was conducted in the arbitrary spirit of oligarchy, under the mask of republican equality, with premeditated iniquity, under the forms of justice, with a discretion which presented no front to its adversaries, but rather appeared to shrink from danger, and thus lulled suspicion, while it secretly extended and increased its powers. One conspiracy now followed another, in the vain attempts made by the people to regain their lost power; but these outbreaks of popular indignation were quenched in the blood of the citizens, while they served but to increase the strength, and to arm with new terrors this relentless oligarchy.

These conspiracies gave rise to the institution of the Council of Ten (I Dieci), one of the measures which assured the downfall of the republic. This body was at first nothing more than a committee of the Council of Forty, specially appointed to investigate and punish all persons implicated in the late insurrections. They were invested with a plenary, inquisitorial authority, with an entire sovereignty over every individual in the state, and with freedom from all responsibility and appeal.* The duration of their office was at first limited to ten days; but this was six times prolonged for a like period, then for a year, soon after for five, next for ten, and in the end the tribunal, with a great extension of power, with ample authori-

* Venetian History.

ty to make, alter, and repeal the regulations which were to govern its proceedings, was declared permanent (A.D. 1325) In their judicial administration, the members of this council examined, sentenced, and punished according to what they called "reasons of state." The public eye never penetrated the mystery of their proceedings; the accused was sometimes not heard, never confronted with witnesses; the condemnation was as secret as the inquiry, the punishment undivulged, like both.* Nor was this all: instituted solely for the cognizance of state crimes, this tribunal attributed to itself the control of every branch of government, and exercised despotic influence over the questions of peace and war, over fiscal enactments, military arrangements, and negotiations with foreign powers. It annulled at pleasure the decrees of the Grand Council, degraded its members, and deposed, and even put to death, the chief magistrate himself.

Henceforward, the body of nobles acted in strict unison, without perceiving that their power was gradually arrogated by a narrow oligarchy. Our wonder at the political problem of its long-continued existence is not a little heightened when it is remembered that the Great Council, upon which of all classes it weighed with peculiar hardship, might, by refusing its votes at any one of the four elections in each year, have abolished its hateful yoke forever. That it did not do so, may be attributed, in the outset, to a false view of the nature of the magistracy, and to a belief that it was necessary for the preservation of the state. As its tyranny became more distinctly manifest, it may have been protected by an ambitious but unworthy hope, which each noble cherished, of one day wielding its immeasurable powers with his own hands. And, lastly, after a lapse of years had so far interwoven it with the general polity as to make it seem an almost inseparable part of the whole, it might be saved by a mistaken but censurable reverence for antiquity, by that fond clinging to established institutions, which (perhaps not unwisely) is backward to remove even an abuse, under the fear that its extirpation may endanger the entire fabric upon which it is ingrafted.

* Hallam's Middle Ages.



It is not difficult to conceive that such a tribunal would not be slow in swallowing up all power, and extinguishing all rights, whether high or low. True to their early principles, a hatred of monarchy, their first attack was upon the doge, abridging his authority, and holding him up to the people as a fit object of jealousy, and responsible for every error of government; while, at the same time, they were not regardless of the other concomitant principle of their ancestors, love of independence. The law which forbade doges to take wives not natives of Venice was extended to their sons, who were also excluded from every place in the magistracy. Every one employed about his person, of whatever rank he might be, was excluded from the lowest office connected directly or indirectly with the government. A fine was imposed on any one who should address him, either orally or in writing, in any other style than that of *Messer il Doge*. While the naval and military force of the republic was no longer at the disposition of the doge, every war in which she engaged was ascribed to him as its author, and by this subtle policy the popular indignation was drawn down upon him whenever there occurred a doubtful or unsuccessful issue. Another change went hand in hand with the degradation of the ducal authority. The people were deprived, even in *appearance*, of that power of confirming the choice of a doge, of which they had been despoiled in *substance* a century before, at the election of Pietro Grandenigo. On that occasion the nobility ventured, for the first time, to announce to the people, without waiting for the appropriate reply, "The doge is elected, if you approve him." But, at this time, the nomination of Francesco Foscari was proclaimed to the people in the more concise and less respectful formula, "The doge is elected" (A.D. 1423). But the encroachments of the oligarchy did not stop here. The tribunal of Ten had now been in baneful operation a little more than a century; when, during the reign of the last-named doge—as one usurpation unchecked is sure to be followed by another—it gave place to the still more portentous Tribunal of the *State Inquisition*. On the 16th of June, 1454, a decree of the Grand Council was passed, by which the Ten, in consequence of the difficulty found in assembling their members with sufficient promptitude on every occasion

on which their services might be requisite, were authorized to choose three persons under the above title: two (I Neri), the black, from their own council; and one (Il Rosso), the red, from that of the doge.

The powers granted by the Ten are briefly stated in a second decree of their own, passed three days afterward. By that ordinance the inquisitors were invested with all plenary authority possessed by their electors; over every person, of what degree soever in the republic, whether citizen, noble, magistrate, ecclesiastic, or even one of the Ten themselves; over all individuals, in short, who should in any way expose themselves to merited punishment. The penalties which they might inflict were left solely to their own discretion, and extended to death either by public or secret execution. The terrific dungeons, whether under the leaden roofs (I Piombi),* or beneath the water of the canals in the hollowed walls of the ducal palace (I Pozzi),† were placed at their disposal; they held the keys of the treasury of the Ten, without being accountable for the sums they might draw from it. All governors, commanders, and embassadors on foreign stations were enjoined implicit obedience to their mandates, and they were permitted to frame their own statutes, with the power of altering, rescinding, or adding to them from time to time. As the advantage with which the state could be served was considered to be strictly proportionate to the mystery in which this tribunal was enveloped, every process was forever kept secret. No inquisitor was known, and its citations, arrests, and other instruments, were issued in the name of the Ten; and its examinations conducted and its judgments pronounced by the mouths of secretaries, who were never present during their deliberations. Of a tribunal, whose chief elements were secrecy and terror, nothing like perfect authenticity as to all its proceedings can be expected; but, from the statutes of this most atrocious court which have recently come to light,‡ the declaration is warranted, that its decrees are the only ordinances reduced to writing in which a legislative body has ever dared to erect a code upon the avowed basis of perfidy and assassination.

* The leads. † The wells. ‡ Daru's History of Venice.

These regulations, contained originally in forty-eight articles, were extended, at different periods, to reach in the end one hundred and three; were always written in the hand of one of the three, and deposited in a chest, of which each member kept the key in rotation. Erected for the pretended security of republican freedom, history has no parallel to its silent, mysterious, and inexorable tyranny. The inquisitors were empowered to use torture for the purpose of extracting evidence and confessions of guilt. No spot in Venice afforded protection to the individual who fell under the displeasure of the Inquisition. As surely as he existed, he was certain to meet his fate, either by poison, secret assassination, or being sunk at midnight beneath the waters of the Orfano.* At the corner of every street, and even on the steps of the Ducal Palace, where the stone image is still visible, lions' mouths yawned to receive anonymous information which even private malice might dictate, for the use of the inquisitors of state. But so jealous a tribunal was not contented with these voluntary and detestable accusations. Its universal and fiendish vigilance was maintained by a multitude of spies in all the public places of the city—under the piazzas of St. Mark, the favorite promenade of the nobles—on the Exchange, the quays, the markets, and in every resort of the people. There was not a church or a religious meeting, a ball or a convivial party, even a den of prostitution or an abode of infamy, into which some of its emissaries did not penetrate. Their informers infested all ranks of society, from the highest to the lowest. Nobles, monks, prostitutes, gondoliers, and domestic servants enabled them to watch the secret springs of action in fashion, religion, passion, pleasure, and privacy. Every thing was observed with the eyes of an Argus and the ears of a cruel despotism, more dreadful and sensitive than that of Dionysius, and which found a channel of communication with the most confidential intercourse.

Yet, under this dark and relentless administration, Venice was the seat of pleasure—the chosen spot not only of Italian but of European festivity. Throned on her hundred isles, the

* One of the canals in Venice.

magnificence of her palladian elevations; her churches and palaces of every style and decoration, slumbering on their shadows in the "long-drawn aisles" of her canals; her docks and her arsenals, stored with all the furniture of war; her quays, so strangely crowded with the mingled costumes of the Eastern and Western World, glittering with the pageant or heaped with costly merchandise; this proud city of the sea was but a painted sepulchre, striking in its monumental grandeur, but covering a political charnel-house. All this splendor, festivity, and lively activity were consistent with scenes of secret but excessive horror. Her palaces and her prisons were covered by the same roof; and while the masque and the revel encircled the edifice of government, that ancient pile concealed abodes of misery from which mercy and hope were alike excluded. During the gayest hours of Venetian pleasure, in the throng of the Casino, or in the mazes of the Carnival, individuals disappeared from society and were heard of no more: to breathe an inquiry after their fate, was a dangerous imprudence, to mourn their loss an actual guilt.

Under the influence of so searching a police, there was no sweet privacy in domestic life—no confidence in familiar intercourse which was not chilled or violated by fears and suspicions, or a detestible treachery against which there was no assurance, which no caution could guard against and no sharpsightedness foresee.

"Never yet," says the historian, "did the principles of ill establish so free a traffic for the interchange of crime, so unrestricted a mart in which mankind might barter their iniquity; never was the committal of certain and irremediable evil so fully authorized for the chance of questionable and ambiguous good. Never was every generous emotion of moral instinct, every accredited maxim of social duty so debased and subjugated to the baneful yoke of an assumed political expediency."* The statutes of the Venetian Inquisition of State, now exposed to the general eye, exceed every other product of human wickedness in premeditated, deliberate, systematic, unmixed, and undissembled flagitiousness.

* Venetian History.

Ten centuries of Venetian history had past, but all her early virtue had departed, corruption and crime polluting every branch of her government, and every class of her people: from this hour her doom was sealed.

Extrinsic and remarkable events occurred at this time, viz., the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope, thus opening another route to India than that by Alexandria or the Persian Gulf; the Spaniards had discovered America, and thus given another direction to enterprise and commerce; and these would have produced her immediate downfall, had not that most execrable part of her government, the Inquisition, while it checked and stifled the internal prosperity of the republic, yet saved her for nearly four centuries from the causes of dissolution by which she was externally beset, skillfully concealed the progress of her decay, and covered her intrinsic weakness, down to the hour of her agony, with a specious and imposing appearance of strength.

For ages before the subversion of the republic her glories had utterly withered, her commerce and maritime enterprise had perished. Even the energies which had marked the foreign policy of her rulers were extinct, and there remained, only to excite universal abhorrence, the iniquity of their domestic administration, and that corruption of private morals which they had encouraged in their subjects, to divert their attention from the affairs of state. During the last seventy years of her career, the republic was reduced to a passive resistance. Her name ceased to be heard in the discussions, the alliances, and the wars of other states of Europe. Her commerce was annihilated; her manufactures had dwindled, in one branch alone, in the annual manufacture of cloths, from 120,000 to 5,000 pieces; and her revenue, during a long peace, fell far short of the expenses of her corrupt government. Her claim to the sovereignty of the Adriatic was now contemptuously violated; her naval force, which furnished three hundred sail to the cause of the Crusades, was reduced to eight or ten vessels of war; and when the French entered her capital, they found vessels on the stocks which had remained unfinished, for want of materials, for above half a century. In the higher classes all feelings of honor and patriotism had long been extinct. Debauch-

ed, unprincipled, and needy, the aristocracy united only in desiring the removal of every restraint upon their peculations and their vices. In promoting dissoluteness of private life, the tyrants of Venice had trusted, perhaps, to their vigor to supply the place of morality and its attendant public spirit in the people; but their own vigor had fled, and the depravity of all classes continued to increase with frightful rapidity. Where patricians, in their robes of office, presided at the public gaming-tables; where mothers made a traffic of their daughters' honor, and the laws recognized their contracts; where miserable children of prostitution were employed as political agents in ruining men whose wealth might render them dangerous; and where, by the facility of divorce, the court of the patriarch was besieged, at the same moment, with nine hundred petitions for the privilege of legalized adultery! Where *virtue*, the foundation, as Montesquieu contends, of all republics, had so completely vanished, that not a trace was left behind, the epoch had arrived when it must have sunk under the weight of its own corruption; and our detestation of the treachery of its betrayers is mingled with the conviction that humanity has at least nothing to regret in the catastrophe.*

Such were the real causes of the catastrophe which extinguished the career of Venice in shame. The political earthquake, which had overturned despotism in France, could not fail to fill every minor despotism with alarm and dismay. The Venetian republic resolved to maintain, what it called, a perfect neutrality; but the weakness and profligacy under which she labored not only rendered her incompetent to the task, but made her an easy prey to French conspiracy. The admission of four thousand French troops was recommended to guard the city; the Great Council, at the exhortation of their president, resigned their offices; the ducal dignity, with its associations of eleven centuries, was forever abolished; and the tree of liberty was planted on the Piazza amid salvos of artillery, the shouts of thousands, and a solemn *Te Deum* from the cathedral of St. Mark.

The insignia of the ancient government were burned; a for-

* Venetian History.

eign army had entered that capital which had remained inviolate for one thousand three hundred and fifty years; and, within four months, the treaty of Campo Formio transferred it, with all its provinces, to Austria, as an indemnity for the Netherlands. Thus this state, which began with Attila, ended with Bonaparte; and to the desolating march of two formidable conquerors it owes alike its origin and its fall.

The Venetian provinces acquired by Austria in 1798, in exchange for the Netherlands, were again lost to the empire in 1805, after the disastrous campaign of Austerlitz and the capture of Vienna, when, to purchase the peace of Pressburg,* Napoleon compelled her to cede them to the kingdom of Italy, to which they remained attached until the fall of the conqueror, when they were restored to Austria by the treaty of Vienna.

After the peace of 1814, the Emperor Francis introduced a new organization in the Venetian territories, as well as in the province of Lombardy. The details of the general and provincial administration were prescribed in a proclamation of the 24th of April, 1815, which is a quasi-charter for the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; the scheme for the communes was subsequently arranged. The plan of Francis was based upon the system of his ancestress Maria Theresa, which went into operation in 1755, and reduced the duchies of Milan and Mantua (after the peace of Utrecht, transferred to the German branch of the house of Austria) to a position closely resembling that of the hereditary Austrian states. The proclamation of 1815 sets forth as its motive the emperor's desire to form colleges of men from the different classes of the state, through whom might be learned, in regular form, the wishes and desires of the nation.†

Accordingly, the kingdom is divided into two general governments, the one of nine provinces (Territorio Milanese), having its seat at Milan, the other of eight provinces (Territorio Veneto), having its seat at Venice, and both subject to the

* Austria resigned all she acquired from Venice (including, therefore, Dalmatia, formerly belonging to Venice, and bordering on the Turkish empire) to the Italian kingdom, and recognized Napoleon as its king.—*Peace of Pressburg, Dec.* 26, 1805.

† Staats Lexikon. Von Raumer's "Italy and the Italians."

resident viceroy. Based upon these divisions, the edict directs the formation of two sorts of representative assemblies. The higher are two central congregations, one for the government of Milan, the other for that of Venice. The inferior class comprises seventeen provincial congregations, being one for each of the provinces. The Constitution of the assemblies is as follows.

In each Provincial Congregation there are, in the first place, four, six, or eight land-holders, according to the population of the province, half being nobles and half commoners; and, next, one representative for every city in the province which ranks as a royal borough. The special qualifications for eligibility are several: the party must be a citizen of the kingdom, and, if noble, must have a patent confirmed by the emperor; he must be a resident of the city which he represents, thirty years of age, at least, and possess a capital of two thousand crowns, invested in land, trade, or manufactures.

The elections are conducted with great caution. For filling up the periodical vacancies (after the first election, over which, for both assemblies, the emperor reserved full right of control) each commune proposes two names, those of a nobleman and a commoner, and the lists so formed are submitted to the Provincial Congregation itself, which selects for each vacant place three qualified candidates, and transmits these purified lists to the Central Congregation; which, again, may either object to any individual, or lay the lists, without remark, before the government at Milan or Venice respectively. The government, unless its members choose to exercise a special veto (the reasons of which they are bound to report to Vienna), appoint to the vacant places the persons first named in the lists. The delegate, or imperial governor of the province, is the president of the Provincial Congregation, and is responsible for the competency of any orders they issue to inferior boards. Its deputies have no salary, but possess honor and rank, and their duties are described by the proclamation, under four heads: the business of the taxation of the province, the superintendence of the affairs of the towns and communes (for which purpose the communal councils must annually submit their accounts to it), the superintendence of roads and of

operations regarding the canals and rivers (so far as these belong to the province, and not to the general government), and the inspection of public charitable institutions.

Each Central Congregation contains two deputies, a nobleman and a commoner, for every province which the government contains, and one deputy for each of the royal cities. The qualifications of a deputy are, the possession of real taxable property worth at least four thousand crowns; the age of thirty years complete, the right of citizenship with (if the deputy is noble) a confirmed patent and residence in the kingdom, or in Austria.

For the elections, the initiative is exercised in the same way as in the other class of assemblies; but the lists from the towns are transmitted directly to the Central Congregations, with a recommendation of a particular name; and these bodies are authorized to make a similar recommendation in submitting the reduced lists of the other class to the government, the emperor reserving to himself the final right of nomination, and the prerogative of expelling any members "who should show themselves unworthy of the confidence reposed in them."

The deputies of the Central Congregations have honorary rank, and salaries of two thousand florins. Their president is the Governor of the Territorio Milanese, or the Territorio Veneto, respectively; and their functions are described under six heads: the assessment and registration of any extraordinary taxes that might be imposed by the sovereign; the completion of the roll for the land-tax; the inspection of the communal revenues, and the consideration of the apportionment of the public burdens between the towns or communes, the provinces, and the whole territory of the government; the allotment of the military services; the superintendence of such bridges, canals, and roads as the government does not choose to take under its charge; the general inspection and supreme administration of charitable institutions: provided, that in all these cases the Central Congregation shall have only the power of superintendence, and only a consultative voice in regard to the establishment and organization of expenditure not yet arranged; and that in the several branches of administration above mentioned, all which relates to resolutions already sanctioned

or expenditure already arranged, shall be the business of the Provincial Congregations, *under the restrictions specified* in the part of the edict which relates to these assemblies: "We permit the Central Congregation," it is added, "to communicate to us the necessities, wishes, and petitions of the nation, and reserve to ourselves to ask them for advice when it shall seem good to us." The Central Congregation can neither issue ordinances nor impose contributions and taxes, nor exercise in its own name any power, legislative, judicial, or executive; but, in regard to all matters intrusted to it, as well as in the explanation of ordinances already subsisting, it must lay the result of its deliberations before the government, which will either ratify them, or, if it is not entitled to do so, will apply for *our* sovereign ratification. In cases where the government refuses ratification, the Central Congregation is entitled to make direct application to us.*

Such was the system of administration by which the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was governed after the peace of 1815; and, although it was a mere mockery of a representative Constitution, their condition, quite equal to any, and far superior to some of the provinces of Austria, and all of the Italian states (except Tuscany perhaps),† was an improvement on their former situation; and though there was little self-government intrusted to them, perhaps it was as much as their state of political advancement at that time would suffer them to bear, and as Solon, in reply to one who asked him if he had given the Athenians the best of laws—"The best," said he, "they are capable of receiving." And, although the members of these congregations, instead of being legislators, were but overseers of roads and canals, etc., yet, from the fact that their attention was not absorbed in matters of government, they were enabled to devote themselves more assiduously to the sphere of their duties, and by which their social condition was more strictly regarded and evidently improved. In its industry, its judicial and economical administration, but especially

* Von Raumer: Staats Lexikon.

† This fact is admitted by an Italian writer of great zeal in the cause of the regeneration of Italy, Marchese Massimo d'Azeglio.

in its system of instruction and in internal improvements, it has made a material advance on its former condition.

The Austrian empire is one of the countries of Europe in which popular education is most encouraged; and that system of universal instruction, in imitation of the Prussian states, is applied in full force to the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.* There are two classes of elementary schools in Lombardy, minor and upper ones. The minor elementary schools are established in every commune or village; and, where the commune is too small or too poor, two are united for the purpose of supporting one school between them. The school is sustained at the expense of the commune, which however, if poor, is assisted by the treasury. The schoolmasters have a fixed salary of from two hundred and fifty to four hundred Austrian livres.† They must have attended the lessons on method or pedagogy in one of the normal schools, and have a certificate that they are qualified for teaching. All children from the age of six to twelve of each commune or parish are obliged to attend the schools, unless prevented by illness. The rector, and the inspector of the district, are answerable for the fulfillment of this regulation. The poor children have their books supplied from the scholastic fund. The upper elementary schools are established in the towns, and are supported by the public treasury. There are also schools for girls, consisting of three classes, and in which the instruction is adapted to the occupation and pursuits of the sex. Excellent moral and sanitary regulations are enforced in all these schools; all corporeal punishments strictly forbidden; cleanliness and health especially attended to; and habits of sincerity, cordiality, and propriety sedulously inculcated among the children.

In relation to internal improvements, it may be remarked that nowhere, perhaps, is the administration of roads and bridges so actively and usefully employed as in Lombardy. The roads are like the walks of a highly-cultivated garden. Even the patches of grass growing here and there are carefully picked out. The numerous rivers and canals which intersect the road are crossed by bridges of solid and handsome masonry. It is

* Botta's Account of Italy in 1807. † A livre is about twenty-five cents.

computed that the preservation of the high-roads in Lombardy, for a length of one thousand five hunded and eighteen Italian miles, costs one million and a half of Austrian livres yearly. Besides the high-roads, which are maintained at the charge of the state, the communal roads (or roads throughout the different districts), which have been opened or repaired since the peace of 1814, amount to a total length of three thousand two hundred and ninety-four miles, for which the sum of twenty-four millions of livres has been spent by the various communes and municipalities. Forty years ago there were hardly any communal roads in Lombardy deserving the name. The communications between village and village, and between these and the nearest high-road, were wretched tracks, which served also as drains for the rain-water.

No one can be transported over the magnificent roads which now intersect the plains of Lombardy, observe the high state of cultivation, every foot of soil improved, behold the three crops maturing at the same moment, witness the unrivaled system of irrigation by which the limpid waters of the Lakes of Garda, Como, and Majora are conducted through it in canals of various size, without being struck with the evident marks of material prosperity.* The whole plain, as level as a floor, is planted (with the exception of that portion occupied by the road) with the trees of the mulberry, at a distance of about every forty feet. These are kept closely trimmed, and not suffered to grow to a greater height than from fifteen to twenty feet. By the side of each mulberry is planted the vine, which is entwined around it, and, after reaching to its height, is extended, and fastened to the vine, which has grown, in a similar manner, around the next mulberry; presenting, at a little distance, the appearance of one continued arbor; while in the intervening spaces, the ground, sufficiently open and exposed to the sun, is covered with a flourishing grain-crop. In the adjoining field, separated from it only by a bank of earth planted with willows—and which, as the only source of fuel for winter, are kept as closely trimmed as a friar's head—a rich and luxuriant crop of rice may be seen, so level, and so intersect-

* They could commence what business or calling they pleased, without leave in the other province.

ed with canals and drains, that every spot of earth is equally moistened, and the water under such perfect command as to be introduced or excluded at any moment it may be desired. So far from the evidences of oppression and ruin, to the eye of the traveler no more thriving agricultural region can be met with throughout the length and breadth of the European Continent; certainly none in which every foot of land is so reduced to cultivation, or rendered subservient to the purposes of man. In the neighborhood of Mantua, the birth-place of Virgil, which, with its formidable fortress, stands like a sentinel on the plain, the scholar may still behold the "sedgy banks of the Mincius," of which the poet sang; but a "grove," a "brook," or even a single "spreading beech" or "aerial elm," will be sought for in vain.*

If not from the period when the barbarian hordes first inundated the plains of Italy, at least from the time when Barbarossa and other German emperors razed their cities to the ground, the prejudice and hatred which the Italians entertain against the *Tedeschi* has never disappeared; and, notwithstanding the substantial and unmistakable indications of prosperity which their situation presents, the "barbarians," as they still call the Austrians, are regarded in the light of ruthless oppressors.

It is true, as they complain that the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, while it contains in population but one seventh of the inhabitants of the empire, furnishes one fourth of the taxes for the support of the government, yet, as this is for the most part an *income*-tax laid upon the productions of the country, it should be no cause of complaint that, owing to its almost boundless resources, the amount derived from that source forms so great a proportion of the revenue of the state; while a reference to the annexed tablet† shows that taxes demanded of the people of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom amount per head to but a little more than one half the sum paid by the population of some other provinces of the empire. Venice may have suffered some pecuniary loss, on account of the monopoly of navigation given to the Austrian Lloyd steamers; Milan,

* Personal observation.

† See Hübner's Table of Taxes, &c., Appendix, note No. 7.

because it was not allowed a bank of discount; Pavia, because it was deprived of its arsenal; Brescia, that it was obliged to stop her numerous armories; Bergamo, that it was forced to close its founderies. These were all matters of government favor, which, if from motives of imperious necessity she considered it her duty to withhold, such acts, instead of an infringement of private rights, or interference with personal liberty, ought rather to be considered as the legitimate effects of the arbitrary institutions under which they existed.

While there were many things in the administration of the government of which they had just cause of complaint, viz., that the officers placed over them were mostly German, who had no sympathy with the people or interest in the country; that the Central Congregations, composed of the minions of power, failed to convey their complaints to the ear of majesty; that the restrictions thrown around the press were too rigid; that they were infested by crowds of secret spies, and overrun by quantities of troops; yet these were all evils inseparable from the nature of the government under which they unfortunately lived, and which, perhaps, the peculiar attitude of the province to the general government seemed imperatively to demand.

In the political condition of Venice, its annexation to the Austrian empire, however galling the imperial yoke, any change must have been preferable to the awful terrors of the State Inquisition. While we can not but condemn the base treachery by which her independence was destroyed, as well as disapprove of that traffic, common among the monarchs of Europe, by which whole states, with their entire population, are transferred from one sovereign to another like chattels, without the slightest knowledge or assent on the part of the people, yet the fact can not be disguised that, so far at least as concerned the physical condition of the population and the prosperity of the city, the change to Venice could not but have been a desirable one.

In 1815, when Venice was again occupied by Austrian troops, it is said the suburbs were deserted and in ruins; life had gradually ebbed from the extremities, and seemed to flutter but faintly in its last retreat at the heart of the city, the Piazza of St. Mark. The ports, choked up with sand, were inacces-

sible to larger vessels. The arsenal, which had furnished to Dante that celebrated image of superhuman activity to which he likens the never-ceasing labor of the "dark cherubim" of his *Malebolge*, was now deserted and silent. The stores were moldering in the magazines; the half-finished vessels were rotting on the stocks.*

From this state of depression, a union with Austria offered the only chance of escape. To Austria alone the possession of Venice was valuable, as affording a military position of great strength, and as an emporium of commerce; while Austria alone could give to Venice, in return, protection, wealth, and importance.

Under a stable government, commerce revived, property rose in value, the city became again the resort of travelers, and the wealthy proprietors of Germany seemed to delight in speculations which brought them to the beautiful shores of the Adriatic.

Such was the condition of Venice under Austrian rule. But, as Italians, the Venetians were not unconscious of that movement for the regeneration of Italy, which, commencing at Rome with the reforms of Pius the Ninth, and followed up by other liberal sovereigns of Italy, had spread itself throughout every portion of Italian soil.

On the 21st of December, 1847, in imitation of a similar movement adopted at Milan by Nazari, a deputy of the Central Congregation for that kingdom, Daniel Manin, addressed to the Central Congregation of the Venetian province the following communication:

"That during thirty-two years there had existed in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom a national representation (since the Central Congregations had been in operation for that space of time), and whose duty it was to inform the government of the wants and desires of the country; but that during this long period none of those desires had ever been communicated by the Central Congregation; that the government would, consequently, be led to believe that the people had nothing of which to complain, and were therefore perfectly contented and happy.

* Quarterly Review, 1850.

That the government was thus deceived by the silence of the Central Congregation, since it was evident that the people were neither contented nor happy, but were laboring under many wants and just desires. That the silence on the part of the Central Congregation was owing to the fear of doing something which might be displeasing to the government. But this fear was unjust and injurious to the government, in supposing that it could have conceded to the kingdom a national representation as a mere burlesque. That it had deceived, and was continuing to deceive, both this country and Europe, by making laws which they did not wish should be observed, and by prosecuting and punishing those who attempted to observe them. It was our duty to respect the government which rules over us; and every one who does respect it should believe that the government desires to know the truth, and appreciates those who make them feel it, while it disapproves of those who conceal it. It was high time that the Central Congregation should break through its long silence, and make known by their acts that they are aware of the sacredness and importance of their calling. The Lombardian Congregation had already made the first step. One of its deputies, as a good citizen and subject, had presented the annexed document, wherein he suggests that a commission should be nominated to investigate the causes of discontent in the population, to search out the remedies, and to report them. If this proposition should be accepted, it might, as he believed, be attended with salutary results, and prevent, perhaps, sad collisions. The example of our sister state, Lombardy, was worthy of imitation; and he trusted that the high Venetian Congregation would follow in her footsteps, and, by so doing, promote the honor, the national prosperity, and the public tranquillity."*

This address has been characterized as insolent in its language, and so extravagant in its demands, that the writer could only have intended to force upon the government prosecutions which would insure notoriety; but, from the above most literal as well as faithful translation of the document, it is difficult to conceive how such a judgment in relation to it could

* Biography of Manin.

possibly have been formed. Such an opinion is doubtless founded in error, and no less palpable than the statement by which it is accompanied, viz., that the address was signed both by Daniel Manin and Niccolo Tomaseo.

On the 30th of December, nine days after, Niccolo Tomaseo made a speech in the Athenæum of Venice, upon the subject of the imperial decree of 1815, relative to the censorship of the press, in which he introduced a petition to the emperor, praying that the people should be protected in the practical enjoyment of the rights granted in that decree. The petition was altogether respectful, as well as his remarks, in which he sustained the application by reason and argument, as well as by a reference to the laws of Austria and the adjoining states.

Niccolo Tomaseo, a Dalmatian by birth, has been known as an author of some distinction; he is a poet as well as a writer of romances, and was at one time, on account of his liberal opinions, excluded from the Austrian dominions.

Daniel Manin, although he bears the name of the last Doge of Venice, is not connected with him by blood. He was the son of Peter Manin, advocate, and Anna Bellotto, of Padua, and was born at the capital, on the 20th of June, 1804. He was educated at the college of St. Giustina, at Padua, and distinguished himself by his studious habits and rapid acquirements. He pursued the study of the law, and at the age of twenty-eight years was admitted an advocate at the Venetian bar.*

On the 18th of January, 1848, Daniel Manin and Niccolo Tomaseo were arrested and thrown into prison. As the biographer of the former states, "the domicile of Manin was violated by Austrian police-officers, with their commissaries and satellites, his privacy was invaded, his papers seized, and his person placed under criminal arrest."†

During the month of January, as evidence of the growing spirit of excitement among the people, an affair took place at the theatre, which liked to have proved serious, and to have

* His intense application gave him a disease of the eyes. During his study of law he translated Justinian's Pandects. Theresa Perrisinatti, daughter of a Venetian advocate, read to him; this kindness ripened into love, and she afterward became his wife.

† Signor P. A. Monterossi.

brought on, at that time, a general outbreak. Cereto, the famous danseuse, appeared upon the stage, with her dress and decorations representing the white, red, and green colors, adopted every where, by universal consent, as the future symbols of independent Italy; and the enthusiasm which that slight circumstance awakened was so intense, that the police were obliged to enter the theatre, disperse the audience, and close the doors. Violence and bloodshed would probably have occurred on the occasion, had not the police taken the precaution to surround the theatre with so large a force as to render any attempt on the part of the people useless and absurd.

The news of the outbreaks occurring in various parts of Lombardy had not been without its effect upon the population of Venice, when, on the 16th of March, vague rumors of the Revolution in Vienna, and the fall of Metternich, produced an intense but deeply-smothered excitement. The joyful intelligence could be read most legibly in the dark countenances of the Italians; every one knew it; but, unable to contain themselves, they hurried from point to point, from group to group; and yet no one dared to communicate, and many not even to credit, the happy tidings.

On the following day, the 17th, the Austrian-Lloyd steamer from Trieste brought a full confirmation of the events which had transpired in Vienna; and, with the rapidity of electricity, it was immediately conveyed through the city. Soon after the arrival of the boat, a crowd was seen moving from the Piazza of St. Mark toward the harbor, animated by cries of mutual encouragement; the indolent loungers about the piazza, attracted by the noise, hurried in that direction; the guards who stood sentinels at the doge's palace seized their arms, when another band of about two hundred men, of the better class, both old and young, were observed coming from the sea-side, and moving toward the square of St. Mark, with rude banners flying, made by attaching white handkerchiefs to sticks; and this band reiterated every moment the cries of "Manin and Tomaseo!"*

* The piazza opening from St. Mark's to the sea in front, and lined on one side by the ducal, and on the other by the governor's palace, with its two superb pillars of granite, surmounted, one by the winged lion of St. Mark, and the other by

The united crowds now stopped in front of the governor's palace, which lies between the quai and the piazza; and immediately confused cries arose. Count Palfy, the civil governor, appeared on the open balcony; he commenced to speak of his attachment to Venice, but his voice was soon drowned by the loud interruptions of the crowd. Suddenly, a deputation was dispatched to the governor, to inform him of the desires of the people for the liberation of Manin and Tomaseo. The situation of Count Palfy was, perhaps, an embarrassing one. Some days before, his wife had been insulted in the open street, by persons of the better class, and followed home with cries of derision and contempt. Repeatedly, of late, he had received anonymous letters, threatening his life and that of his children. He stood in a land of strangers, without support; while the Vice-president Sabregandi enjoyed among his countrymen but slight consideration and esteem, and still less energetic assistance could be looked for from his other counselors. Unable or unwilling to resist the popular importunity, the governor accorded the boon. Appearing again upon the balcony, the trembling count commenced an address to the crowd with the remark, "Faccio quel che non dovrei,"* but the residue of the speech was delivered without an audience, as, with one simultaneous movement, they all hurried to the prisons. While these things were transpiring in front of the governor's palace, the people on the piazza were not idle; in a moment, the cafés, with which that grand square abounds, and which were respectively named in honor of the emperor or some other royal dignitary, had, as if by enchantment, changed their inscriptions, and were converted into Café of the "Union," Café Manin, Café Tomaseo, &c. Striking as was this change, it was less so than that of the countenances of the gathering crowd, transformed from their recent sadness, which pervaded all ranks, to glowing joy; but more remarkable than either change was the conduct of the Italians and Austrians, who had hitherto regarded each other with the most bitter jealousy and hatred, now embracing, and in raptures, exclaiming, "We are all brothers!" "we are all free!" And, indeed, the occasion

St. George and the Dragon, standing insulated in the centre, forms a grand, airy, and animated scene.

* I do what I ought not to do.

seemed to be regarded as a political millennium—the dawn of a brighter day upon the fortunes, both of Austria and Italy.

Manin and Tomaseo were released. The latter retired immediately to his peaceful lodgings. The former, with his neglected dress and disheveled hair, was conducted in triumph through the city. "From this time," says the biographer, "these two heroes—these two friends of the people—commenced their reign in Venice; and at the same epoch the people themselves recovered all the pristine energy of the early days of their history." Before the Cathedral of St. Mark, which forms one side of the grand piazza of that name, are three great standards, erected by the old republic, as symbols of its power over the three kingdoms of the Morea, Cyprus, and Candia; and on which, since the dominion of Austria, the white and red flag* was always hoisted on festive days. Suddenly the Italian tricolor appeared on the top of one of these standards; and a few minutes after a man approaching with the imperial standard, with the view of hoisting it in the place of the other, it was immediately wrested from him, and torn into a thousand pieces.

The officers of government, recognizing in these revolutionary indications the commencement of an insurrection, immediately ordered alarm-guns to be fired from the military guardship in the harbor. Although the meaning of those ominous six shots was well understood by the people, yet the tumult continued, despite the preparations. Suddenly the tramp of military was heard from all directions; and in a moment the Piazza of St. Mark was crowded with troops and bristling with arms. The people, regarding each other with anxious and inquiring looks, demanded what was intended by these warlike preparations, as no enemy appeared, and the only thing observed in connection with this hostile display was the transportation of a long ladder to take down the Italian tricolor, which still waved from one of the standards. The attempt was accordingly made, and failed; and, slight as the circumstance was, it spoke volumes, and was decisive of the fate of Austrian rule in Venice. If the exhibition of the national symbol was so se-

* Flag of the Austrian Provinces.

rious an offense, why not have made use of the supple crews of the navy, who were at hand, or felled the standard, and brought the revolutionary flag to the ground? The government would thus have shown that they were determined to act with energy, to be undaunted by opposition, and that they would not surrender their power until desperate resistance had proved unavailing; but by making a feeble attempt to displace the Italian standard, they exhibited the importance they attached to the revolutionary movement, while their hesitation to accomplish it taught the people to despise an authority which they could thus brave with impunity. By such weak and vacillating conduct, the ardor of the troops was damped—the activity of the police paralyzed; and the obstinate forbearance of the governor tended rather to promote the collision it was his object to prevent. Later in the evening, the great alarm-bell in the Cathedral of St. Mark was sounded. The first impression which its startling tones produced was that a conflagration had occurred. How could it have been otherwise, as the garrison was posted next to the tower, and the ringing of the alarm-bell was naturally thought to have originated with the government? It was, in truth, the storm-bell, and all the mob and rabble were summoned from the piazza, to spread disorder and tumult through the city. A few bold and resolute Revolutionists had entered the tower, and sounded the tocsin with all the violence in their power, until dislodged by a division of grenadiers sent for that purpose. But to neglect the occupation of the tower, such a common measure of precaution when an insurrection was expected, and when so many preparations were made to meet it, exhibited a want of proper foresight as difficult to explain as it would be impossible to excuse.

The mob collected by the sound of the tocsin, increasing in number from minute to minute, and becoming more and more violent, rendered the danger of collision and bloodshed imminent; when the patriarch of the city, in his ecclesiastical robes, presented himself upon the balcony of the governor's palace, pronounced his benediction on the people, and enjoined on them the preservation of order and tranquillity. The masses, supposing that the "holy father" was about to communicate

some message from the governor, rushed toward the palace. The military and its commanders, mistaking this movement for a general attack, advanced under the order of "Charge bayonet!" and the crowd, pressed in this manner, soon dispersed in wild flight. With the exception of some slight wounds, and a few broken panes in the glass doors of the *cafés*, this maneuver of the military was attended with no more serious result. The crowd dispersed, the military withdrew, and the night passed off quietly, while the Italian tricolor continued to wave from the standard of St. Mark. The governor that night, in consultation with the municipal authorities and Central Congregation, requested their views as to the best mode of calming the tumult, when Manin proposed the temporary establishment of a Civic Guard; but this proposition they immediately declined to entertain.

The next day, Saturday the 18th, every appearance indicated that some event of moment would ensue; for, at an early hour, all the shops were closed, the mob began to gather in the streets and on the piazza; the military approached. The mob that had collected on the piazza, and till then amused itself by ridiculing and insulting the troops, undisturbed in its petulancy, began now to tear up the large paving stones in the middle of the place, and to dash them down against the pavement with violence, in order to break them into smaller pieces capable of being thrown at the troops. As these things were transpiring under the eyes of the main guard, a division was dispatched to drive the actors away. The crowd immediately dispersed; but, as the troops turned to march back to their posts, a volley of stones was discharged at them by the mob. The troops immediately wheeled, and, facing the thoughtless rabble, fired in the air; but their adversaries, disregarding all the warnings they had received, still persisted in their insults and attacks, and the military next fired at their persons, when three fell dead, and seven were more or less dangerously wounded.

"The Germans have fired!" was soon heard and echoed throughout the whole city, and the excitement, already great, was vastly increased. "We must have our Civic Guard!" was the next cry; "we must protect ourselves against such

massacres." Although the governor had on that day, for a second time, refused the application of Manin for a Civic Guard, yet, after the fire of the troops, his firmness gave way, and he signed the order for the enrollment of that force; and, as Signor Monterossi truly observes, with it signed the abdication of Austrian authority in Venice. It was late in the afternoon when placards announced this concession of the governor, but, on the instant of their appearance, men of all classes and ages, armed with any kind of weapon they could command, were seen hurrying to the place of appointment. Tranquillity was immediately restored throughout the city; again every heart was filled with joy, and a brilliant theatre formed the closing scene of that eventful day. Later in the night, joyful shouts again resounded in the Piazza of St. Mark, when the governor communicated, as he had promised, the intelligence from Vienna (brought by the steamer which had just arrived) which promised to the monarchy a new life, and, under the protection of Heaven, a more brilliant future.

Sunday, 19th of March. The Sabbath came. All rose with light hearts; the hour of threatening outbreak from the wild fury of the mob seemed to have passed by. A few horrible specimens of the rabble flitted across the piazza, like dark clouds across a clear sky; but their day of triumph had rolled by; their power was gone, as the armed citizens, now formed into a regular guard, it was thought would certainly keep them in subjection. The Piazza of St. Mark, that grand saloon of the fashionable world, was adorned as if for a festival. Rich carpets were hung from all the windows. During the morning, white and red were the only colors visible; but later in the day a green was observed to have been added to the collection. White, by general acceptation in all the recent revolutions of Europe, signified *constitutional;* white and red were the provincial colors of Austria; and white, red, and *green* were the Italian tricolor. All classes of people, like the gondolas on their own Grand Canal, seem to glide along with buoyancy on a sea of enjoyment. The nobility, as well as the wealthy and intelligent people who could appreciate the concessions of the government, were in transports at the thought of the freedom which was in store for them; while the lower

ranks and rabble had reason to be delighted, as their portion consisted in something more appreciable as well as substantial than imperial promises—since every salutation of "*Eviva l'Italia!*" addressed by them to the more decently attired, was sure to call forth a handful of livres.

But the most ominous feature in the occurrences of this day was the open fraternization which seemed to be every where going on between civilians and the Italian regular troops. Italian grenadiers arm in arm with persons in civil costume, might be seen lounging about the piazza, or wandering from one café or restaurant to another, with hands full of money, and Italian ribbons dangling from their button-holes. The same course was prosecuted, and with like success, with the navy and infantry. It was remarkable that no step should have been taken by the Austrian commanders, not the slightest effort made to prevent an association from which the most disastrous consequences could only have been looked for. A simple proclamation, explaining to the troops the concessions from the crown, and showing that it had created no change in their duties and relations to a flag which they had sworn to support, and under which they might still earn unfading laurels, could but have been attended with beneficial results; while a military festival in honor of the occasion would have been quite appropriate, have kept the troops together, occupied their attention, and preserved them from the seductions of idleness and intrigue.

The 20th and 21st of March passed over, without an outbreak or the commission of any overt act; but it was evident that something terrible was in contemplation. The people had suddenly acquired great boldness of speech, and discoursed without reserve of the matters of the day, instead of carefully looking to the right and to the left, to see that no listener was near, before they dared to whisper in the ear of a confidant. While the people had become emboldened, the government, on the other hand, had become intimidated. The yards and entrances of the governor's and viceroy's palaces were crowded with soldiers of the Grentzer regiment, the most loyal and reliable troops in Venice, who there, with arms in hand, seemed to await momentarily an attack. The authority of the gov-

ernment, in fact, was suspended, or, rather, transferred to the Republican leaders; and their measures were marked with as much shrewdness and audacity as those of Count Palfy with weakness and vacillation. A conspiracy was on foot, a scheme in contemplation, for the success of which it became necessary to put in circulation the most wild and exaggerated reports; as, that the city was to be bombarded, or destroyed by mines dug in various parts of it, or by rockets and other infernal devices designed to multiply death and destruction; and that all these diabolical purposes were the invention of Marinovich, the commandant of the arsenal. It is an old proverb in Venice (dating, doubtless, from the days when the mighty thunderbolts prepared in that work-shop struck terror in every sea), that "whoever is in possession of the arsenal is master of Venice;" this the insurgents knew, and to it tended all their measures. Their plan was simple: first a Civic Guard, as numerous and well-informed as possible; then its introduction, either by stratagem or force, into the arsenal, and all was accomplished. The biographer of Manin states: "Already, on the night preceding the 22d of March, Tomaseo, together with many other generous patriots, had assembled at the house of Manin, all anxious to co-operate in the liberation of their country. Various means were discussed, and it was at last resolved to gain possession of the arsenal, and to cry out 'Viva San Marco.' Our people would have paid no attention to the promise of a constitutional government—few of their number would have understood it. It was necessary to arouse that sleeping lion, which had remained on the belfry tower during the universal monarchy of Napoleon, as well as under the tyranny of Austria—in proof that neither should last forever. This was the opinion of Manin, and his advice prevailed."* For this purpose, Marinovich must die. An assassination seemed the necessary precursor of all reforms, the indispensable prelude of all political changes of the year 1848. At Rome, Vienna, Prague, Pesth, Frankfort, and Baden, this method had been pursued under various circumstances of treachery and cruelty.

* Monterossi.

Colonel Marinovich was a naval officer of much ability and talent; but with the marines and workmen under his command he was exceedingly unpopular, on account of the strict discipline which he exacted. He had been appointed expressly to reform the numerous abuses in that department, and by his indomitable energy this object was accomplished. The pilferings of wood from the arsenal by upward of one thousand workmen—and by means of which, in times past, whole houses had been built in Venice—were prevented by the insertion of iron gratings at all the outer windows, and a search of the men as they left the arsenal, and every offense committed was punished either by a deduction from their wages or immediate dismissal. These things had strongly embittered all the workmen against him, and that feeling was still increased by the circumstance, that he was rewarded by the government with honors and increased salary, while, upon his recommendation, their wages had been diminished.

As he was the source from whence every order issued in the arsenal, the odium of all the unpopular measures or severe restrictions necessarily fell on him; but of his fidelity to the Austrian government there can be no doubt; while, to his foresight and judgment, that power is indebted for the greatest part of the fleet which, in anticipation of such difficulties, he had dispatched to the more secure harbor of Pola.

Colonel Marinovich, on the afternoon of the 21st, with difficulty escaped a plot that had been laid for his destruction. The workmen of the arsenal had assembled in the squares and on the bridges leading to that building, after they were dismissed from labor, with the intention of waylaying and murdering the commandant, or, in the language of the official statement of the matter, "to watch the wild beast, as it issued from its lair, to assail it with stones and brickbats, and to knock it down and drown it." This plot was defeated by the presence of mind of Marinovich himself in the first instance; but some officers of the establishment having afterward obtained the help of a detachment of the Civic Guard, the leaders of that force, after much entreaty, procured the consent of the conspirators to the escape of their victim by the promise (for which he gave them no authority) that on the very same day he

would send in his resignation. He was conducted on board the corvette that guarded the harbor, and there he passed the night.

March 22d. "Who would have thought," pursues the official document,* "that the following day (the 22d) he would have again returned to the arsenal? It was by the special permission of Heaven that he should be blinded by his obstinacy, and should run upon his miserable fate; for upon that life depended the destruction of Venice; and on his death, its liberation from the yoke of the barbarians immediately ensued, with safety and regeneration—a real miracle of Providence."

On the morning of that day the friends of Marinovich attempted to dissuade him from the rashness of appearing at the arsenal among the enraged workmen. General De Martini endeavored even to detain the unfortunate man. But all their efforts proved unavailing. In accordance, however, with their suggestion, he resolved, instead of entering the great gate, and thus exciting observation, to obtain admission to the arsenal by a small side door. But this door being locked, he was obliged to send for the key. The messenger, being one of the plot, immediately notified all his companions of the approach of the commandant, whom they earnestly awaited, by the cry of "The key of the door for Colonel Marinovich." The commandant, immediately surrounded by a threatening crowd, directed his steps toward a round tower near the Porta Nuova, with the intention of securing himself there until the arrival of assistance. He found the door leading to the garret closed, and the entry door, which he had immediately locked behind him, was soon forced by the infuriated mob. The unfortunate man stood at the top of the stairs with two pistols and a drawn sword. Seeing that resistance was useless, he asked his pursuers if they "desired to take him alive or dead." "Alive," was the immediate reply; and one seized his sword, a second struck him on his face, and a third, with a pointed weapon, ran him through the body. He fell to the floor, and was dragged down stairs, his head striking each step in his descent. Forming a circle around him in the yard, they seemed to enjoy the last agonies of this slowly-dying man. His body was pierced through with innumerable wounds, inflicted with in-

* "Authentic notices of the death of Colonel Marinovich."—*Raccolta.*

struments purposely selected, it was said, to mangle the flesh more hideously.* "Thus died," continues the document, "the bad man, visibly punished by the hand of God for having conceived the horrible design of ruining the country of which he was the unworthy and degenerate son."

As soon as the murder was committed, and the report of it had passed out of the arsenal, a division of the Civic Guard who were in the neighborhood, headed by Manin and Tomaseo, marched to the spot, where the slight resistance offered by the admiral, De Martini, was quickly overcome. Manin demanded the keys of the arsenal, and, on being refused, the doors were soon forced, and the arms seized and distributed among the crowd.

One division after another of the Civic Guard entered, until they amounted to about five or six hundred, when, with a full knowledge and consciousness that the hour for a decisive blow had arrived, they declared themselves in possession of the arsenal. Admiral Martini, treacherously called and caught, is pronounced a prisoner. The major of the battalion of naval troops, Budai, attempted to opppose with his force the Civic Guard, and commanded his men to fire; but they not only refused obedience to the order, but fell upon their commander, and wounded him most dangerously. The battalion of Grentzers stood by with loaded cannon, and, opposed by the civic artillery (whose cannons, it was afterward discovered, were not even charged), enter into a capitulation to lay down their arms. All opposition subdued, Manin, exercising the authority of a chief, bestowed the command of the arsenal on Colonel Graziani, promoted for the occasion. He and Tomaseo, from the steps of the building, then harangued the people. They announced the restoration of the old republic, and departed amid cries of "Viva San Marco." While these things were transpiring at the arsenal, the governor and military commandant, who had taken no pains either to avert the disaster, or to interrupt its progress, were closeted in the royal palace with the counselors.

* If this be true, their course was more brutal than that of the Spartans, after the battle of Platæa, when they proposed to inflict on the body of the fallen Mardonius the same indignities which the Persians had exhibited toward their own Leonidas.

The governor, Count Palfy, a Hungarian by birth, had resided long in Venice, and been employed there even before its government had been committed to his charge. Frank and open in his manners, easy of approach, and generally obliging, he was personally liked and respected, and was never believed capable of so much weakness and pusillanimity as he exhibited in the last hours of his command. General Count Zichy, the military commandant, also a native of Hungary, had exhibited in his youth all the courage and resolution that belong to his country and profession; but habits of indolence and self-indulgence had completely unmanned him, and shaken the firmness of his nerves. He possessed now none of that moral courage and strength of purpose which the exigency of the times demanded.

The news of the capture of the arsenal and the murder of Marinovich had carried the consternation of these officials to its climax. Shortly after appeared a deputation* from the Municipal Assembly, with proposals for a general surrender. Hereupon Count Palfy resigned his command to Count Zichy, who entered into a capitulation with this self-constituted council, who found, to their infinite astonishment, that they had actually succeeded in persuading an Austrian general, with a garrison of five thousand men, to surrender without a defeat, nay, without even an effort to defend his trust. Their spokesman was a lawyer, Signor Avesani, and the argument he adopted was the propriety of saving the city from the risk of an attack, and the cruelty of exposing human life in a hopeless conflict. Such, indeed, were the motives assigned by the general himself, on trial before a court-martial at Olmütz; but the court failed to recognize their validity. That the people possessed arms at all was owing to the folly and negligence of the government; but both Palfy and Zichy were well acquainted with the theatre of operations, and they should have known that, even provided with arms, there was nothing to fear from the people, who possessed neither the skill nor the courage to use them. The plea of humanity ostentatiously advanced on this occasion, and so frequently pleaded in other

* Advocate Avesani, Leoni Pincherle, Fabbris (central deputy), and Mengaldo were the deputation.

countries, is merely a paltry and hypocritical excuse for cowardice. The heavy expense of maintaining armies and garrisoning fortresses might indeed be retrenched, if, on the pretext of *humanity*, their assistance is to be discarded when it is most needed. The first duty of every soldier is to maintain the post committed to his charge; nor should it be considered that the fine buildings of a town can be dearer to him than his duty and his honor.*

On the present occasion, the plea of humanity admitted by General Zichy could only hold good if he knew that no effort would be made by his master to reconquer the rebellious city. Had the contest begun at that moment, there can be little question how it would have terminated; and, had the loss of life and property risen to a higher amount than the largest computation can carry it, it must have fallen very far short of that which actually occurred during the prolonged siege and final capture of Venice. After a little undignified disputing, which served only to enhance the triumph of the Venetians, the capitulation was signed.†

It is reported of Zichy, and it is feared with too much truth, that, as soon as he was apprised of the murder of Marinovich, and the capture of the arsenal, he became so completely unnerved that he retired to bed, and there remained until the arrival of the deputation with the capitulation. On being informed that the document was all prepared, and that nothing more would be necessary for him to do than simply to sign it; quite relieved, he sprang up, without a moment's hesitation affixed his signature to the instrument, and then, rubbing his hands, with the most ineffable complacency exclaimed, "Now, thank God, I shall eat my dinner in peace."

At the earnest entreaty of the governor, the last article of the treaty, allowing the soldiers pay and subsistence for three months, was agreed to, but all other requests were refused. When any pretension was advanced that displeased the delegates, Signor Avesani overcame all opposition by threatening war; and to the abject entreaties of Count Palfy not to be detained as a hostage, appealing to his general good character

* London Quarterly, January, 1850.

† For the capitulation of the Austrians, see Appendix, note No. 8.

as a title of indulgence, he replied by giving a qualified approbation of his conduct till within the last three months, after which period, "from pursuing the commands of Prince Metternich, he had committed the heaviest faults, faults shared by the Nestor of diplomacy, which brought the Austrian monarchy to ruin."

The treaty was on the point of being interrupted a few moments after its execution. In consequence of a misconstruction of the third article, an attempt was made to deprive the Kinsky regiment of their arms. Officers and men alike refused to submit to the indignity. Colonel Culoz closed the doors of the barracks, and threatened an armed resistance. The terrified victors began to doubt whether the refractory regiment would retreat at all, and it was without much hesitation that the Venetians accorded them any terms to get rid of them, the honors of war and whatever else it pleased them to demand. Having witnessed with equal astonishment and delight the departure of the Austrians, the whole crowd repaired to the Piazza St. Mark, where Manin, in a short and animated speech, proclaimed victory, enjoined upon the people order and moderation, and, under vivas for the Republic of St. Mark, the crowd dispersed.*

With the capitulation of Venice, the Italian revolution in Lombardy had arrived at its culminating point. As we have seen in the preceding chapter Peschiera, had fallen into the hands of the Piedmontese, and the Austrian forces were restricted to Verona and Mantua, and those intermediate posts by which their communication was preserved with the Tyrol. A period had now arrived when Italy had an opportunity of recovering her long-sought independence, and, could her counsels but have been directed by prudence and moderation, success would assuredly have crowned her efforts. At this time two plans were presented by the imperial government, through its agent, Count Hartig,† to the Lombards and Venetians, on ei-

* In half an hour after the republic was proclaimed, little boys were running, tearing down the little tin signs marking the insured houses, because they contained the double-headed eagle, and throwing them into the water. The wonderful Madonna of St. Mark, brought out for the worship of the crowd, and the death of Marinovich proclaimed the first miracle.

† Count Hartig left Vienna on his errand of peace, 5th April, 1848.

ther of which, as a basis, Austria was willing to treat for peace, and upon which the mediation of England was asked, and by Lord Palmerston refused, on the ground that they were not sufficiently liberal to suit the views of one of the contending parties.

1st. The complete independence of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom (with the reservation of a supremacy, little more than nominal, of the emperor), and possessing a viceroy, an administration, and an army of its own. Or, 2d. The absolute cession of Lombardy, with the concentration of the Austrian forces in Verona, and the continued occupation of the Venetian territory.* But the course of the Austro-Italians furnished but another to the many examples with which history abounds, of "vaulting ambition o'erleaping itself," or a refusal of just and liberal terms in a vain struggle to obtain that which, in reason, they had no right to expect.

But their prosperity, produced by the temporary success which attended their efforts; that the Milanese, without arms, had driven off the well-disciplined and fully-equipped army of Radetzky; that the King of Piedmont had, without opposition, overrun the plains of Lombardy, inspired them with a blind and fatal confidence.

The political state of Europe, too, tended still further to delude them. The Democratic cause was every where triumphant. Austria, rent by civil war, was powerless, both in the capital and in the provinces; foreign aid was not within her call, for, in the state of anarchy to which Germany was then reduced, she looked to that quarter in vain for support. Nor could Russia venture to contract an alliance with the feeble ministry which the students of the Aula controlled, while France, so far from operating against the rebellious provinces, stood pledged, by the proclamation of Lamartine, to aid all "oppressed nationalities."

What terms more liberal or advantageous than those actually offered could reasonably be expected from Austria, it is difficult to conceive; but Italy, all Italy, all the sub-Alpine regions, that never before were called Italy, all that was

* Blue Book of English Parliament.

necessary to give Italy security; Trient, the Italian Tyrol, the valley of the Isonzo, Istria, and Dalmatia, all were insufficient to gratify the expansive nationality of the patriotic leaders. The town and territory of Trieste even were claimed, without which the trade of Venice, it was said, would be injured, a demand not even made by the grasping ambition of Napoleon, after the victory of Austerlitz, the capture of the capital, and the subjugation of the entire surrounding country. But at this very moment, when the delirium of Italian self-confidence was at its highest, and they would have no arbiter but the sword, the tide of success was already turning, and the Austrian monarchy was thus saved from dismemberment, no less by the perverseness of Lord Palmerston in refusing his mediation, and the overweening self-confidence of the Italians in declining the proffered terms, than by the irresistible sword of Radetzky, which drove the invaders from the soil, and subdued all opposition within the territory.

In justification of his course, the governor, Count Palfy, now made the following explanation: "I must acknowledge the afflicting feeling of sorrow on the occasion of the loss of Venice, (feelings honorable to every faithful subject of Austria); the fact is, several too hasty reports are put in circulation, which tend to cast censure on my conduct in that city, and which are altogether without foundation. I am, therefore, compelled to publish the following facts. Immediately after the commencement of the revolution on the part of the people and the municipality, I perceived the necessity of placing the unlimited authority into the hands of the imperial and royal commander of the military forces, which, according to the existing laws, was done on the 22d of March at two o'clock P.M. Shortly after this act, I was imprisoned, and confined under a strong guard at my apartment. In the same manner, I was conducted to the steamer, without coming in contact with any one. Therefore it is evident that I have not had any influence upon the capitulation, of which I was quite ignorant, and which is not signed by me. I protest, therefore, that I have taken no part in the aforesaid capitulation. On the 26th of March I made a full and detailed report (accompanied by all the documents) to the highest authority; and as

I have requested the ministry to publish a statement of the last occurrences, as far as it concerns my sphere of action and my conduct, I await quietly the result of my request. Every one will then be convinced that I never neglected my duty, either before or after the unfortunate catastrophe, as a servant of the state and as a man of honor."

A Provisional Government was instantly proclaimed, of which Manin was the chief, with Tomaseo as his principal adviser.* The various offices of state were divided among the different actors of the drama, or the most enthusiastic friends of the revolutionary movement.

Pincherlè, a Jew, to whom was assigned the Bureau of Commerce, was a man of ability, and had been Secretary of the Insurance Company of Venice, a post of note and responsibility; but Toffoli, the tailor, who also had a place in the ministry, was distinguished for nothing but the violence of his enthusiasm, and his activity in exciting the ardor of the population.

Religion was invoked to act upon a population, devout after their own fashion, and much addicted to superstition. The wonder-working picture of the Madonna, kept in the Cathedral of St. Mark, having been exposed on the piazza that day, the people immediately exclaimed that the revolution was a miracle of the Madonna.† The cardinal patriarch was called forth to pronounce a benediction, and to call down the blessings of Heaven on the new-born republic, while, at the same time, a placard was addressed to the people containing the following propositions: "Jesus Christ was crucified for sustaining the cause for which we are fighting. The patience with which we support our martyrdom proves that we are his chosen servants. If one among us should be found endeavoring to shake our firmness, let us slay him."

Owing to the insular position of Venice, as soon as the Aus-

* The Provisional Government was composed as follows: Messrs. Daniel Manin, President; Nicholas Tomaseo, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Antonio Paduluccì, Minister of Marine; Jacopo Castelli, of Justice; General Solera, of War; Pietro Palcocopa, of Public Works; Francesco Camerata, of Finance; Leon Pincherlè, of Interior; Toffoli, without port-folio.

† "E un miraculo della madonna."

trians had sailed, the city was free from immediate attack and alarm, as if she had been independent for centuries.

Nothing occurred to disturb the peace except the storming of the Imperial Pawning Establishment by the mob. The Provisional Government devoted itself to the promulgation of decrees. Among the first of these was one establishing a flag for the new republic, as follows: The flag of the Venetian republic was composed of three colors—green, white and red; the green next the staff, the white in the middle, and the red at the end. At the top, the yellow lion, on a white ground, bordered with the three colors. The three colors, common to all the Italian flags, signify the Italian Confederation. The lion the particular symbol of one of the Italian states.

Instructions were issued to the commanders of fortresses, and to the captains of the ports, relative to the admission of foreign vessels to the city. Correspondence between Bishops and Popes to be free; importation of arms allowed; duties on Sardinian wines, and stamp duties on newspapers, abolished. Public officers not to accept bank-notes. The engineer department, being a branch of the Vienna institution, abolished. Every accused person to be furnished with an advocate. Instead of a Senate, or supreme tribunal, a commission of revision appointed. People to make known their wishes through the press and petitions, and not to indulge in mobs and riots. But the most important decree, perhaps, was, that each of the provinces which had given in its adhesion to the new republic should elect and send to Venice three counselors, and that the Provisional Government should also elect three. The council so formed to meet on the 10th of April, to appoint its own president, and to regulate the order of its discussions. All other provinces which might send in their adhesions to acquire an equal right to elect three counselors. The council to assemble in the Ducal Palace, and maintain a direct correspondence with the Provisional Government.

The next task which occupied the attention of the Provisional Government of Venice was the preparation of addresses, which were immediately dispatched to all the foreign powers, the contents of which were as follows: In the note to the Pope, they promise never to disturb the cause of order in the

neighboring states, and notify his holiness of their intention to become a party to the Italian Zoll-Verein. The addresses to France* and England contained nothing but assurances of friendship. In the address to the United States of America, they bring to the recollection of the government the historical fact that a citizen of one Italian republic had been the discoverer of their country, while a citizen of another Italian republic had given name to the new continent; that the new republic confesses that it has still much to learn from the republic beyond the ocean; and further states that it is her intention to maintain free and peacefully the inheritance of their ancestors, and to contribute, to the extent of their power, to the development and progress of mankind. The address to Greece refers to the former relations of friendship which existed between the Ionian Isles and Venice. They trust that common remembrances and hopes, for the future, as well as common interests, may still connect these two states more closely. In the collective note to Sardinia, Naples, and Tuscany, the desire is expressed to remain on intimate relations without claiming any separate advantage. At last, the joint note to Russia, Prussia, Turkey, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Bavaria, Hanover, &c., is as follows: "A part of the old Venetian states has constituted itself a republic. In communicating to you this fact we do not feel ourselves called upon to justify or explain it. Upon history will devolve this task. We shall enhance the glory of our triumph by moderation in our language and in our actions. God has made our victory easy, and that facility must inspire us with a still deeper feeling of duty. We hope to find our strength in that sentiment of duty; we shall meet all apprehensions of danger by respect for existing rights, and stamp with sacredness our revolution. We expect that our new Constitution, which sooner or later will unite all the peoples of the earth, will strengthen our ties, enlarge our increasing commercial relations, and make the peace of the world more and more necessary and honorable."

* France, as most was expected from her, was honored with a special deputation to bear the address—Messrs. Angelo Zanardini, Giacomo Nani, and Alvise Cantorta.

To this collection was added a special one to Milan:

"We hailed with infinite joy the account of the emancipation of our generous sister of Lombardy. On the very day when you shook off the Austrian yoke, a Provisional Government of the Venetian republic was proclaimed here under the glorious banner of St. Mark. We are influenced by no local prejudice; we are, above all, Italians, and the insignia of St. Mark figures on the tricolored banner. We are united to you, Lombards, not only by the tie of affection, but also by a community of misfortunes and hopes. When the hallowed soil of the country shall have ceased to be sullied by the feet of the foreign oppressor, we shall join you in discussing the form of government most conducive to our common glory. We intended at first to send you a special deputation; but the important and multifarious labors with which we are overwhelmed do not admit of our dispensing with the services of any of our distinguished citizens. We impatiently await your direct communications.

"Viva l'Italia, Viva Milano, Viva liberta, fratellanza!

"Venice, 26th March, 1848."

Having fully secured themselves in the possession of Venice and its surrounding ports; having published the various initiatory decrees, the next object of the Provisional Government was to send re-enforcements to the relief of such portions of the Venetian kingdom on the main land as had given in their adhesion to the new republic, and which were now threatened by the imperial forces.

The following were the towns which had already declared themselves for the republic, viz.: Donate, Piave, Padua, Treviso, Sacile, Monfelice, Bassano, Belluno, Agordo, Asola, Noale, Fontanna, Tribano, Conegliano, Serivalle, Ceneda, Adria, Este Rovigo, Poidmone, Feltre, Udine, Salvore, Vicenza, and Chioggia.

A corps of "youthful volunteers"* were at first dispatched in the direction of Palma Nova, at that time besieged by the

* Colonel David Amigo, appointed by the Provisional Government, commander.

Austrians. Considerable ceremony preceded the departure of this band of patriots. They were first blessed by the patriarch in the Basilica, and afterward harangued by Manin, who promised them that the republic would provide for the families of those who might fall in battle.

Martial enthusiasm was at its height. A Barnabite monk, Pater Gavazzi, a second Peter the Hermit, had, like his great prototype, been preaching the crusades throughout many of the towns of Italy, not for the expulsion of the Saracen and recovery of the holy sepulchre, but for driving out those whom they regarded as equally "barbarians," and for regaining their own sacred soil.

The next issue from Venice was a battalion of Crociati, or Crusaders, distinguished from other volunteers by wearing on the breast a tricolored cross; composed of facchini (porters), gondoliers, and all vagabonds who could find no employment in the city. The officers were composed of musicians, painters, and such other artists as the times had deprived of the means of subsistence, or who, with the Moor of Venice, could exclaim, "Othello's occupation's gone!" Another portion of this holy band, still more remarkable, was a regiment of women, consisting of opera-dancers, and females of the most dissolute character in Venice. This band, dismissed with priestly benedictions, proceeded toward Treviso and Udine, under no control, and indulging in every kind of license. They might, it was thought, more appropriately have been called Corsairs than Crusaders. So far from affording protection, they soon became a greater terror to the inhabitants than the Austrians whom they had enlisted to oppose.

For a considerable time after the reconquest of the Venetian provinces, the attention of the Austrians was so much occupied with the advancing army of the King of Sardinia, that they had no leisure to enforce the blockade of Venice; but this was finally accomplished on the 25th of June, when Baron Welden took the Fort Cavanella, and by which operation Venice was, by land, entirely inclosed.

But before that had been effected, Venice was filled with defenders. Each town, as it fell into the possession of the Austrians, added to the numerical force of the garrison around

Venice, as all who could effect their escape retired to the capital. Besides these, volunteers had flocked in from every part of Italy; and the portion of the Neapolitan army that had deserted under General Pépé secured to it a garrison of regular soldiers, and the assistance of experienced officers. About this time, Baron Welden makes the following official report of the military forces in and around Venice: "At one of the last parades held by the Neapolitan General Pépé, seventeen thousand men were reviewed by him in the Campo Marzo; forming, with the garrison of the forts, a total of twenty-one thousand men. Malghera has a garrison of one thousand eight hundred men—Neapolitan, Piedmontese, and volunteers—with sixty cannons. Malghera defends the entrance into the lagoons, and can only be taken by a regular siege, as the buildings are bomb-proof. From that point to Brondolo there are fortifications. Brondolo is garrisoned by one thousand Neapolitans, with sixty cannons. From thence, along the sea-shore, comprising Alberoni, Palestrina, and the Lido, there are three thousand men. Treporti, Burano, Mazorbo, are but feebly garrisoned, and an attack upon Venice could only be possible on that side."

The vast concourse of strangers driven into the city by the conquest of their territories had the worst effect upon the Venetians. The volunteers from the provinces, the demoralized soldiery from Naples and Rome, and the adventurers from every part of the world, all living in the luxury of a large city, amply provided, by the fear or affection of the natives, with all that could minister to their desires, spread abroad an atmosphere of licentiousness not to be described. Vices, practiced at first with some attempt at concealment, arrived, at length, at such a pitch of barefaced extravagance that observation was rather courted than shunned. The scenes which polluted the hospitals of Rome were repeated at Venice. Fever and disease of all sorts were the result, and much of the subsequent mortality attributed to the cholera was the natural effect of intemperance and debauchery.

Other difficulties soon arose. Money was the chief desideratum. The usual revenues of the town were, of course, suspended. New imposts were not to be thought of; and a re-

course to great capitalists in any quarter was hopeless, as no security could be given. Voluntary loans produced but a few dollars. Sundry silver spoons and old watch-cases, believed to be the contributions of the poor, the silver snuff-box of Manin, and several mites guaranteed to have come from the pockets of the widow, figured in the list of the patriotic gifts.

Forced loans were much more successful. All men known to be wealthy, and especially those believed to be disaffected to the Republican cause, were compelled to contribute most freely. Such resources, ruinous to many respectable citizens, were, however, quite insufficient for the expenses of a government which had to pay twenty-one thousand mercenary soldiers, and to maintain the dissolute population of a large town in plenty and in idleness. The *volunteers*, moreover, were a vast drain on the exchequer; and the rabble of St. Mark's Square, who were employed to demand what the government had previously determined to grant, or to cheer and propagate the false news which it became necessary to circulate, exacted a florin (fifty cents) for every hour of service; and so resolute were they in keeping up the price of enthusiasm, that they were repeatedly known to interrupt a political song or a popular oration, observing to each other that they had cried out enough for their livres, and that they should now go to the wine-shop and drink.

To meet all these expenses, a large issue was made of paper money, to which a forced currency was given, and which maintained a certain credit, in the belief that the Austrian government would pursue the same humane system of which Prince Windischgrätz afterward gave the example in Hungary, to the injury of the imperial exchequer, and to the benefit of the struggling province. This method of extorting the costs from the winning party, and of making the legitimate government defray the expenses of the insurrection, is an invention of modern times, which, combined with the new code of international law, adopted by Sardinia and the other Italian powers, offers great encouragement to rebellion, and secures perfect impunity to aggression.

In concert with the movements going on in Venice, as early as the 25th of May, a combined fleet, composed of Neapolitan,

Sardinian, and Venetian vessels, appeared off the harbor of Trieste, and threatened to place that city in a state of blockade; but, by the interposition of the foreign consuls and the commanders of one or two English vessels then in port, they were induced to desist. No obstruction was at any time offered to the commerce of neutral nations. Soon after, the Neapolitan vessels, owing to the troubles in Naples, were recalled home, the Sardinian vessels sailed away, and the Venetian ships returned to their city.

On the 6th of June, the Sardinian fleet again made its appearance in the harbor of Trieste, and, approaching rather too near the city, was fired upon by the batteries on shore; and, after two of the vessels were disabled, they all withdrew. On the morning of the 10th they again returned, and on the 12th placed the city under formal blockade. A communication from the commander of the fleet, Admiral Albini, was made to the authorities of the city, in which he declared that he was compelled now to "regard Trieste, not as a place of commerce only, but also as one of war." The military governor of the fort fearing, from the large number of men on board the enemy's ships, that their intention might be to land and storm the city, sent to Vienna for troops, and two battalions, consisting of one thousand men, were immediately dispatched to their relief.

The Austrian government had resolved on commencing the blockade of the city of Venice on the 23d of May, but the arrival of the combined fleet at Trieste prevented their vessels, which were much inferior, from going out and carrying that determination into effect.

The Sardinian fleet continued in the Adriatic, cruising between Venice and Trieste, without making any attack, until after the defeat of Charles Albert, at Milan, when, in accordance with the terms of the armistice then entered into, the blockade was raised, and, shortly after, they disappeared altogether from the waters of the Adriatic.

During the month of June, several sorties were made by the Italians at Fort Malghera, upon the Austrian force that was besieging Venice, but without any important success. General Pépé issues a proclamation, on the 18th of that month, in which he declares that the Venetian government, with the con-

sent of Lombardy and the Pope, had placed him at the head of all the troops there assembled from all parts of Italy, to wage war against the Austrians. By his orders, the rail-road bridge, connecting Venice with the main land, a length of six miles, was blown up. On the 26th, he visited all the forts along the coast, up to the mouth of the Adige, and ordered General Ulloa, the chief of his staff, to form an intrenched camp from the fort of Brondolo to the sea-coast. The Austrians awaiting re-enforcements, and contenting themselves with cutting off the supplies destined for Venice, no batteries or fortifications, up to that date, had been raised near Malghera.

While these military operations, both by sea and land, were occurring, a civil movement, of much greater importance, was progressing, occasioned, doubtless, by the conquest of all the Venetian provinces by the imperial army, which had by this time taken place. The towns of Padua, Vicenza, Rovigo, and Treviso, just before they fell into the hands of the Austrians, and in contemplation of the dangers which imminently threatened them, having sent an address to Venice desiring her to give an immediate decision as to her union with Lombardy and Piedmont, the Provisional Government of Venice published a decree, bearing date the 3d of June, convoking a General Assembly to decide that question.

The decree determines that the representation is to be based on the population, the electoral districts to be regulated by the parishes. In every parish where the population does not exceed two thousand souls, one deputy is to be returned; where the population fluctuates between two thousand and four thousand, two are to be elected; and where the population varies from four thousand to six thousand, three will be chosen; and so on, in the same ratio. The only restriction on the exercise of the suffrage, and the eligibility of the individuals to act as deputies, being age; the electors to be twenty-one at least, and the elected twenty-seven years of age.

On the 20th and 29th of June, demonstrations took place in favor of Charles Albert. The people assembled on the Piazza of St. Mark, and vociferated, "Long live Charles Albert!" "Down with the republic!" "Away with Manin!" In a short time the minds of the people had undergone a great change.

A few days before, no one dared to advocate the claims of the King of Piedmont; so great was their antipathy to him, that a merchant, whose sign was the "City of Hizza" (a Sardinian watering-place), was compelled to take it down; and now no one thinks of a republic. On the morning of the 3d of July, at nine o'clock, the National Assembly met, in the Cathedral of St. Mark, where his excellency, the cardinal patriarch, officiated at the mass, after which he made a short address. The religious ceremonies being concluded, the deputies all convened in the ducal palace, where they proceeded to the election of the officers of the Assembly.

Pianton, mitred Abbot of St. Maria della Misericordia, was elected president; Dataico, Medin, and Vicenzo Scarpa, secretaries, ad interim. At one o'clock, the deputies assembled in the Hall of the Grand Council. They numbered one hundred and twenty-eight members. Two committees were appointed to examine the executive power of the Assembly. The attorney, Avesani, proposed to hurry the discussions, upon which Ferari Bravo remarked that, fifty years before, the republic of Venice was lost by too hasty resolutions. Tomaseo recommended the "festina lente" as the proper mode of procedure. At two o'clock, the Senate adjourned, and the committee proceeded to the scrutiny. At four o'clock, the session reopened, and the elections, as declared, resulted as follows: Rubbi, Peter Canal, Vari Dataico, Medin, Dolfin, Boldu, secretaries. The Minister of Justice, Castelli, read the articles to be taken into consideration.

The first and second regarded the projected annexation with Piedmont. The third respected the confirmation or new election of the ministers and government; the fourth, the power of the president for preserving order in the Assembly; the fifth, the substitution of the president; and the sixth, the adjournment and closing of the session.

The next morning, the 4th of July, a discussion took place in the Assembly upon the subject of annexation with Piedmont. Manin favors the measure, and says it will be time enough to determine the form of government after the war shall have been concluded. That they should not dispute whether they would be Republicans or Royalists; that that

question would afterward be decided at Rome. The annexation was determined by a vote of one hundred and twenty-seven in favor, and six against the project.

A change of policy ordinarily involves a change of administration; but as this measure was one of necessity, rather than of choice, and as neither the delegates who voted the decree, nor the citizens who accepted it, made any concealment of their aversion to the measure, or of their intention to reassert their independence when the fortune of war should turn in their favor, a change in the persons of the administration was not necessarily demanded.

Manin was urged to resume the executive power; but, as he had little faith in the durability of Sardinian power over Venice, especially after the loss of Vicenza, Padua, and Udine, in fact, all the Venetian terra firma, he shrewdly avowed his attachment to the republican cause, his determination not to hold office under royalty, and resigned his trust into the hands of a ministry (ad interim) named by the Assembly.*

On the 7th of July, the Provisional Government, presided over by Castelli, surrendered the administration to the Sardinian commissaries, Messrs. Calli and Cibrario.† This ceremony took place with the greatest pomp in the hall of the former library, in presence of the cardinal patriarch and General Pépé, commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces. The Cross of Savoy and the Lion of St. Mark figured on the national banners. For the first time in the history of Italy the cross of Savoy superseded the winged lion of St. Mark. By this ceremony, the republic was buried, and Venice became for a short time a part of "the united Italian kingdom."

A month elapsed, and on the 9th of August reports of the fall of Milan and the capitulation entered into by the King of Piedmont reached Venice, and produced a great excitement throughout the city. The people assembled in the Piazza of St. Mark, and demanded of the government to be informed of

* The ministry thus named consisted of Jacopo Castelli, Pietro Paleocapa, Francisco Cancirata, Antonio Paolucci, Leopoldo Martinengo, Giovanni Battista Cavedalis, and Giuseppe Reali.

† On the very day that Radetzky entered Milan, Venice passed under the authority of commissioners representing the monarchy of Charles Albert.

the real state of affairs. The government, afraid that a serious riot would be the consequence, endeavored to conceal the disastrous news. They had been apprised by Baron Welden of the armistice entered into by Charles Albert and the Milanese, who at the same time inquired if Venice was disposed to be included in the armistice, which was declined, as an acceptance of the armistice would have been an acknowledgment of the capitulation. As the excitement continued hourly to increase, the royal Sardinian commissaries thought it advisable to communicate with Manin, and who, upon their application, promised to appear before the people on the evening of the 11th of August, at eight o'clock. He appeared accordingly; and, after the announcement by M. Calli, the royal commissary, from the windows of the Procurata Nuove, of the defeat and capitulation of Charles Albert, Manin told the people that the rule of the commissioners had ceased, that an Assembly should be summoned within forty-eight hours, and "in the interval," he added, "I govern."

The citizens, absolved, as they thought, by these events from all allegiance to the King of Piedmont, the Sardinian flag was struck in the Place of St. Mark, at the end of one month from the time it had been raised; and the city of the doges once more returned to its self-government.

On the morning of the 13th of August, at ten o'clock, the Assembly opens, one hundred and eleven deputies present. Among the absent is Castelli, late royal Sardinian commissary. Manin rises, and states that he is authorized by Castelli to inquire of the Assembly whether his late employment as royal commissary would deprive him of his rights as deputy. The Assembly being of the opinion that the employment was not an obstacle to the enjoyment of his rights as a member of their body, Castelli is sent for. Deputy Tralli, premising that the prospects of Charles Albert were not altogether hopeless, proposes a continuance of the royal commissaries until further notice. Violent interruptions ensue, and he is not allowed to proceed. Manin suggests the immediate formation of a government, to secure order and domestic tranquillity. Deputy Bellinato proposes Manin as sole dictator. Manin declines the proposal on the ground that he is not possessed of military

science, so necessary for the crisis. Bellinato then proposes to give him two assistants for the war and navy departments. The proposition is carried, and Manin is elected to the civil department, Giovanni Battista Cavedalis for the war department, and Leone Graziani for the navy. On a further motion, it was determined that dictatorial power should be vested in these three individuals, so long as the country should continue in danger, and the Assembly, for the same reason, to remain *en permanence*.

Tomaseo and Toffoli having been dispatched on the 11th, by the dictator, to Paris, to ask for their armed intervention, Malfati, the deputy, proposes to send a member of the Assembly to Paris, for the purpose of confirming that the will of the dictator is also that of the Assembly and the people. Mengaldo is sent, and Bragadin is promoted to his place, as commander of the National Guard.

The new government entered upon its duties with great energy. On the 16th of August, they published two decrees: the first naming a Council of War for the defense of the city and fortress of Venice; the second ordering, on pain of confiscation and arrest, all the gold and silver in Venice to be brought to the Mint within forty-eight hours. The Mint was directed to give receipts, to be afterward exchanged for loan certificates bearing interest.

On the 24th of August, Marshal Radetzky dispatches, by a special courier, an open letter from the Sardinian Minister of War and Marine, to Admiral Albini, ordering him to raise the blockade, to quit the Gulf of Venice with his fleet, and to send home the Sardinian troops to their country. Several weeks still elapsed before this order was carried into effect.

Tomaseo arrived in Paris, and, on the 2d of August, had an interview with M. Bastide; and, in reply to an application for assistance, was informed that negotiations were going on having for their principal base the evacuation of all Italy by the Austrians.

Mengaldo, the deputy of the Assembly, who arrived the following day, had an interview with General Cavaignac, and was informed, in like manner, that France had offered her mediation to Austria, on the invariable basis of the enfran-

chisement of all the Italian states—that he hoped this mediation would not be rejected; but, in that case, there would be war. He said, "It would not be myself alone who would be for war. It would be declared by a decree of the National Assembly. Write to your countrymen to hold out as long as possible, and give to my words the greatest publicity."*

The great powers, England and France, who had refused their mediation in the affairs of Italy when Austria sought it, so long as there seemed the slightest hope that the Italians could conquer their independence—now, when the imperial government, by its own unaided strength, had reconquered, with the exception of a single city, the entire territory of both revolting provinces, they were more than anxious to force their mediation upon her.

Austria, at this time, very properly hesitated to accept the tendered mediation; in fact, the subject was by no means free from difficulty. If the mediation was solely interposed between Austria and Sardinia, the belligerent states, it was of necessity superfluous and ineffective, inasmuch as the contest had already ceased, and the two countries had concluded an armistice, on the *status quo ante bellum*. And, if the mediation aspired to regulate and determine the rights and territorial authority of the court of Austria within its own Italian dominions, it was easy to anticipate that such an effort, at that time, would be held wholly inadmissible. The mediation was, however, afterward accepted by Austria, at least in principle, she reserving to herself the faculty of submitting the propositions which might be made the subject of consideration, as well as the privilege of giving to France and England, and to the other powers who signed the final treaty of the Congress of Vienna, a written answer, with the motives upon which it might be founded. This answer, as delivered to Lord Palmerston and M. Bastide, establishes the following three principal points: First, that the war by King Charles Albert against Austria, not being justifiable upon any principle of international law, could not afford the crown of Sardinia the least pretension to any portion whatever of the Lombardo-Venetian

* Patrie, September 1st, 1848.

kingdom. Secondly, that Austria, by maintaining intact her possession of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, far from attempting to gain any territorial aggrandizement, only demanded the fulfillment of the guarantees established in her favor by the seven powers who signed the final treaty—guarantees which find an additional strength in the right of conquest, since Marshal Radetzky, by driving back the Sardinian army beyond the Ticino, re-established *de facto* the strict *status quo* as it was before the war, and taken as the basis of the armistice agreed upon at Milan between the two belligerent parties, on the 9th of August. Thirdly, that the mediation offered by France and England could in no case have for its object an alteration in the political balance of power in Europe, without the co-operation of all the powers who established and guaranteed it. All these being laid down, Austria, renewing in the most formal manner her reservations as to the possession of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, proposes that a general Congress shall be convoked, at which, with a common accord, between the principal powers of Europe, there might be concerted the most opportune measures for insuring, on the one hand, a national and independent government for the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and, on the other hand, for consolidating, in the most durable manner, the tranquillity of the Apennine peninsula.*

While this negotiation was pending, a serious difference of opinion arose between the mediating powers and the government of Austria, on the subject of the city of Venice. The British and French representatives at Vienna are said to have declared to Baron Wessenberg, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, that, in consequence of the mediation accepted by the Imperial Cabinet, the latter was bound to abstain from any act of hostility against Venice, until the future fate of that city should be fixed by the mediating powers. The Cabinet of Vienna is said to have replied to this declaration that, in signing the armistice with King Charles Albert, the Austrian government reserved its full right to adopt such measures against Venice as might be necessary to recover possession of it, the more so

* La Presse.

as the armistice in question declared expressly that Venice should be surrendered to the imperial troops within three days after the ratification of the armistice by King Charles Albert. The Baron de Wessenberg added that, at the period the armistice was concluded at Milan, the city of Venice was dependant, in fact, on the Sardinian government, and that, consequently, the engagement contracted by King Charles Albert to surrender Venice to Austria could not be weakened by the refusal of the present Venetian government, a revolutionary government, not recognized by any foreign power, and much less by Austria. Neither did Baron Wessenberg conceal from Lord Ponsonby and M. de Lacour that, as soon as the Sardinian fleet should have quitted Venice, the Austrian government would attack it by land and by sea.

The course which Austria had now resolved to pursue, and which her late conquests enabled her publicly to declare, was that she would go great lengths, exceeding even the most sanguine expectations, in the concession of constitutional rights and the establishment of self-responsible government; but that she would not condescend to debate, for the tithe of a second, the question of the territorial surrender of those provinces which she had possessed for centuries, and which the prowess of her arms had enabled her again to reconquer. She could not do so, it was obvious, without a total disregard of her peninsular interests. She could not consent to attach such a slur to the fame of the gallant armies that had asserted her supremacy. She could not thus damp and discourage the loyalty of her faithful legions. She could not thus reward the services of her marshals; nor could she hope (were she on such a point to cede) to escape reaction at home, and discontent among the united and loyal legions who had rallied round the empire to restore it to undiminished, if not augmented authority.

While these diplomatic nogotiations were proceeding, the government of Venice was sorely pressed for the pecuniary means necessary to support the extraordinary exigencies of the state. Manin, in a private letter of the 2d of September, writes that "money is the most urgent want of Venice; if she can raise it, Venice will hold out, but not otherwise."

Voluntary contributions had produced but little; forced loan

after forced loan was decreed. Defended as she was by twenty-one thousand men, one thousand cannon, and a squadron of seven ships, the expense of this force was estimated to exceed three millions of livres a month, while the revenue of the town did not exceed two hundred thousand livres. To meet the deficiency, a new and special forced loan was decreed, in the month of October, of two millions of livres, to be divided between the hundred and fifty houses who contributed the first voluntary loan. In the early part of November, another forced loan of one million of livres, to operate generally, was decreed. In the latter part of the same month a new contribution of twelve millions of francs was demanded; to meet which a quantity of paper, called "Money of the Commune of Venice," was to be issued. From the 22d of March to the 31st of December, 1848, the expenditure amounted to 35,601,110 francs, and there remained in hand 1,428,682 francs, and all the means within the state were exhausted, and the government had to look abroad for assistance. Had they followed the example of the Romans when placed under similar circumstances, and the first men of the state—particularly those who could afford to contribute—had come forward and placed all their possessions at the command of the government, the result, as in that instance, might have been widely different. When the Carthaginians were invading Italy, and Hannibal, with his unconquered army, was laying waste the Italian plains, the consuls decreed a contribution; but the people, seeing that no efforts were being made on the part of the higher classes proportioned to their abilities and the exigencies of the occasion, complained aloud, and gathering in crowds in the forum, declared that no power on earth could force from them that which they did not possess. The Consul Lævinius, convinced of the necessity of the tax, as well as of the impossibility of carrying it through, summoned the Senate, and told them that, before they could call on the people to make sacrifices, they must set the example. "Let each senator keep his ring, and that of his wife and his children; but all the rest of the gold which we possess, let us offer to the public service. Next, let all of us who have borne curule offices reserve the silver used in the harness of our war-horses; let us all, besides, keep one pound

of silver for the plate needful in sacrifices, and let us each keep five thousand asses of copper money. With these exceptions, let us devote all our silver and copper to our country's use, as we have devoted all our gold. And let us do this without any vote of the Senate, but of our own free gift as individual senators, and carry our contributions at once to the three commissioners for the currency. Be sure that first the equestrian order, and then the mass of the people, will follow our example."* He spoke to hearers who so thoroughly shared his spirit, that they voted their thanks to the consul for his suggestion. The Senate instantly broke up, the senators hastened home; and thence came crowding to the forum their slaves, bearing all their stores of copper, and silver, and gold, each man being anxious to have his contribution recorded first; so that, Livy says, neither were there commissioners enough to receive all the gifts that were brought, nor clerks enough to record them. The example, as the consul knew, was irresistible, the equestrian order and the commons poured in their contributions with equal zeal, and no tax could have supplied the treasury so plentifully as this free-will offering of the whole people.

The internal resources exhausted, or not available, the Venetians were compelled to look for assistance beyond the confines of the republic, especially since the Venetian paper currency would not be received by the ship-masters, who had brought in their ships ladened with provisions for the suffering city. A large loan was contracted at Rome; and the King of Sardinia, not having yet relinquished the hope of one day possessing himself of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, decreed the advance of six hundred thousand livres monthly to the aid of the struggling republic.

The first installment of six hundred thousand livres reached Venice on the 29th of January. With this advance, however, whether from the aggravated embarrassments at home or a decline of enthusiasm in the cause of Italian independence, all pecuniary relief ended.

In the month of January, the Provisional Government issued

* Polybius. Livy. Arnold's Rome.

a decree establishing a permanent Assembly of the representatives of the State of Venice, with the power of deciding upon every thing relating to the interior or exterior condition of the state; the deputies to be elected by direct universal suffrage, in the proportion of the population, of one to fifteen thousand; the elections to commence on the 20th of January; the representatives to meet immediately after, and their mandate to last six months. This Assembly was in existence but a couple of weeks, when, by a decree of the Provisional Government, of the 9th of February, this Assembly was dissolved, and a new Assembly convoked for the 15th of February.

The Assembly meets, and elects Tomaseo presiding officer of that body. He declines; but, at his suggestion, Calucci is chosen. The Assembly resolves that the election of dictator rests with the Assembly; but the executive power was again confided to Manin, Cavedalis, and Graziani, so far as concerned the defense of the country. The Assembly shortly after, in March, elects Manin unlimited dictator, but bound to submit to the sanction of the Assembly all important legislative dispositions. Should he adjourn the Assembly, he must call it together again in fifteen days.

The Austrian government had now determined to prosecute with the utmost energy the siege of Venice. The bombardment was directed to be opened against all the fortifications around the city without delay, while the Austrian fleet was dispatched from Pola, to commence the blockade by sea. After the desertion of Naples, the Austrian occupation of Tuscany, the French intervention at Rome, and especially after the total defeat of the Piedmontese at Novara, and by which they were deprived of the efficient aid of the Sardinian navy, the Venetian Assembly resolved, on the 2d of April (in answer to the demand of General Haynau to surrender), to resist "at any cost, and to the last." While this answer would denote an act of heroism worthy of Venice in her palmiest days, yet the determination is not free from the charge of rashness, when it is considered that, with all this resolution to resist at all hazards, and to the last extremity, no stores of provisions, so indispensable, were made for the siege, while the communication by sea was kept open by the Sardinian fleet, and the

Venetian trading-boats communicated, with so little interruption, with the terra firma; leaving the inevitable result, that, even should they survive the formidable batteries of the enemy, they must assuredly, and at no distant day, perish by starvation.

To save the effusion of blood, as well as preserve a city which the Austrians were loth to injure, Marshal Radetzky, leaving his head-quarters at Milan, arrived at the quarters of the besieging army on the evening of the 4th of May, and immediately sent into the city the following proclamation:

"Venetians! it is not my intention to address you to-day as a soldier, or as a fortunate general, but I speak to you as a father. One year of confusion—of anarchical and revolutionary movements—has passed away, and what are the results? Your public treasury is exhausted—your property destroyed—your city in misery and want. By the victories which my gallant army has gained over your allies, you can not fail to be convinced that, in a short time, attacked from all sides, your fortifications must be taken—all your communications cut off. No opportunity of departure left you, you will be placed only at the mercy of the conqueror. I come from my head-quarters at Milan for no other purpose than to give you my last admonition, with an olive-branch in one hand, if you are not yet deaf to the voice of reason—with the sword in the other, ready to prosecute a war of extermination if you persist in rebellion, and thus deprive yourselves of all claims on the clemency of your rightful sovereign.

"I shall remain in your neighborhood, at the head-quarters of the *corps d'armé*, and will await your answer during the space of forty-eight hours; that is, until the 6th of May, at eight o'clock A.M. In the name of my sovereign, I require of you the fulfillment of the following conditions:

"1st. Unlimited, full, and entire submission.

"2d. Immediate surrender of the city, the fortifications, and the arsenals, which will be occupied by my troops. All the vessels of war, in whatever epoch they may have been built; all public edifices; *materiel* of war, and all objects which are the property of the state, must be consigned to the troops.

"3d. Delivery of all arms belonging to the state or to private persons.

"I concede you the following points:

"1st. It is permitted to every person who may choose to do so, to leave the city, either by land or by water, during the space of forty-eight hours after the capitulation.

"2d. A general amnesty will be granted to all common soldiers and subordinate officers of the army and navy. On my part, hostilities will be suspended during the whole day of to-morrow, until the above-mentioned hour.

"RADETZKY.

"Head-quarters, Casa Papadopili, 4th May, 1849."*

In answer to Radetzky's proclamation, in which are most kindly expressed terms more liberal than, under the circumstances, they had reason to expect, Manin communicates the resolution of the Assembly to resist at all hazards, and adds, at the same time, that he is directed by the Assembly to inform his excellency that, in consideration of the present condition of Italy, Venice had requested the interposition of the governments of France and England, since the receipt of a similar proclamation by Baron Haynau; that, as a favorable answer to this request might be expected in a few days, he would ask of the marshal a suspension of hostilities until the result of the application made to the cabinets of France and England, for their joint mediation, should be known. Field-marshal Radetzky replied to the dictator, that, "As his majesty had determined never to accept any intermediation of foreign powers between himself and his rebellious subjects, all hope of relief from such an application was vain, and tended only to deceive the already-deluded inhabitants of Venice; and that, as all negotiations by writing had proved unavailing, he regretted most deeply to be obliged to resort to the horrors of war."

The application† to which Manin alluded was made in a communication dated April 4th, and by both governments was refused, with civil regrets on the part of M. Drouyn de Lhuys

* Wiener Zeitung. † Gazetta de Venezia.

and on Lord Palmerston's, with the advice to make terms with Austria while it was yet possible. A request had also been made to M. de Lacour, the French diplomatic agent at Vienna, for his mediation; but his application was refused by Prince Schwartzenberg, and the Venetian deputies were referred to Marshal Radetzky, who was now invested with the full powers of his sovereign.

All attempts at accommodation between the parties having failed, the siege was now prosecuted with vigor, and the attack of Malghera commenced on that day (the 6th of May). This fortress, situated to the west of Venice, on the canal of Mestre, commands the access to the city, and was at that time the only spot of the *terra firma* still in the possession of the Venetians. For some time previously, the Austrians had been engaged on their works of approach to this fortress, through the marsh which intervenes between it and Mestre. During a few days, they advanced successfully with the first parallel, and even reached the second; but the murderous fire from the fort, and especially the sea of water which the Venetian engineers threw over the enemy's works, by closing up the canal of Mestre, forced them to suspend their operations. The Austrians were obliged to carry on their works waist-deep in water; and at some important posts, they stood for twelve hours up to their breasts in this manner. The rain, which fell in torrents, added to the annoyance of the Austrians, keeping their fosses brimful of water, until the night of the 15th, when they succeeded in boring an outlet into the rail-road dike. On the morning of the 24th, at five o'clock, the Austrians opened a fire from ninety-six pieces of artillery, and continued it for seventy successive hours, without a moment's interruption. It was a perfect rain of bombs, and all other warlike projectiles. But the Venetians were not intimidated; never did fellows stand better to their guns than the young artillerymen of Malghera; for sixty-five hours they replied with impetuosity, which, for an ordinary fort of the third order, and feebly manned, was an achievement of no slight importance. "We alone," says an Austrian officer, describing the attack, "made fifty thousand shots, exclusive of thirty-one bombs from mortars, fifteen howitzer grenades, and nine Paixhans. We have received at least

as many." On the third day of the attack, the fort was in ruins, and the bomb-proof buildings afforded no protection. Some of the troops were even killed while sleeping, as they thought, in security. Apprised of their situation, the Venetian government dispatched an order to the commandant to evacuate the fort. At nine o'clock, on the evening of the 26th, the evacuation of Malghera commenced, and by twelve o'clock not a soul was left within its walls. The cannons of the fort (those old ones which were not spiked) were loaded, and, with slow matches applied to them, they kept up a continued fire for three hours after the fortress had been entirely abandoned. The Austrians, completely deceived, continued their awful fire until five the next morning, against nothing but bewitched or spectral cannons, which were firing of themselves, without gunners.

Amid this rain of bombs, the garrison all arrived safely in Venice, and the second line of defense began its fire upon the enemy at five o'clock the next morning, from a battery constructed on the rail-road bridge. It was a most fortunate circumstance for the Venetians that the enemy were so slow in discovering that the fort had been abandoned, otherwise their retreat would have been cut off, and all have been lost. The next morning, at eight o'clock, when all was as silent as the grave within the fortress of Malghera, the Austrians entered, and found it a heap of ruins. Not a step could be taken without encountering traces of the endless destruction which had been caused. Funnels of burst shells, damaged guns without number, palisades and mounds demolished, and the few buildings it contained a mass of cinders. When the Austrian officers beheld the total wreck before them, and the guns almost all disfigured with blood, they could not but express their admiration of an enemy who had braved the death and destruction of those awful days, without seeking safety in retreat, which had been at all times open to them.

From the intrenchments of Malghera, the little fort San Giulano, but a short distance off, and, like Malghera, deserted by the Venetians, presented a fearful spectacle, lying prostrate in the waves of the lagoons. As no boat could be procured, a small party of men and a few officers, who could swim, imme-

diately dashed into the waves and swam across. The fort was quite empty, though the guns were yet warm, from the rapid and recent firing; the cannons were all spiked, with the exception of a miserable one which lay there loaded, with the lighted match alongside, and, strange to tell, pointed at the flying enemy. The temptation to the Austrians was too great to be resisted, and one of them, seizing the lighted torch, applied it to the gun. The shot went off well, but, a few moments later, an awful mine exploded, which was connected by a train with that cannon. The concussion was tremendous; it shook sensibly the shores of the *terra firma*. Twenty men and three gallant officers were whirled into the air, and some few fragments of their bodies were all the traces that could ever be discovered of those brave men who, but a moment before, were exulting in victory. When the smoke and dust had cleared away, as no movement or signs of life appeared among those who had so recently taken possession of San Giuliano, a second party, with some surgeons, were dispatched to investigate the sad affair. It was found that one of the magazines had been exploded by a well-conducted train; a further examination led to the discovery of another lighted train, which connected with the second magazine, and which, had it not been instantly extinguished, would in a few moments have launched the second party into eternity.

During the siege of Malghera, Baron Haynau, commander of the besieging force, was, by the government, transferred to the field of operations in Hungary, and his place supplied by the general, Count Thurn. On the 1st of June, M. De Bruck, Minister of Commerce in the imperial cabinet, reached Mestre, and addressed Manin a note, to inquire what he desired, and what he intended to do. The day after, two commissioners, Messrs. Calucci and Foscolo, were dispatched by the Venetian government, to have a personal interview with him. On the same day, the Venetian Assembly, with unanimity, confirmed the decree of the 2d of April, of resistance at all hazards.

De Bruck, after reading to the Venetian commissioners a general project, concluded by proposing three plans for the future government of Venice, of which he left the choice with them. To these proposals the delegates declined giving any

reply without consulting their constituents. The offers of the Austrian commissioners were declined, and the correspondence, on their part, terminated with a tender of terms (in case of capitulation) nearly the same as those previously proposed by Marshal Radetzky. The negotiation concluded with the reply of Manin, viz.: that the Chamber, after "having deliberated on these proposals, had negatived them, by passing to the order of the day." Their heroism and union form a noble contrast to the base extinction of the republic in 1797, when it fell, without a struggle, from decrepitude and corruption. Malghera and San Guiliano were captured; but with these successes the fall of Venice was by no means assured. Six miles of water yet intervened between them and the devoted city of the doges, and which their guns, as yet, were equally unable to reach. But the enemy had now got an opening on the lagoons, and beheld before them the placid bay, studded with little fortified islands, besides San Secundo, two batteries on the remains of the rail-road dam, the *tête du pont* at Venice, and eight or ten well-armed ships, from all of which a perpetual and well-directed fire was constantly poured out upon the enemy.

No time was lost by the Austrians in clearing away the rubbish at Malghera, raising again its fallen battlements, and preparing it for action, under the double-headed eagle that now floated from its standard. Four thirty-pound mortar pieces were placed at San Giuliano, and a battery constructed at the head of the rail-road bridge, supplied with two howitzers and four thirty-pound mortar pieces.

The Provisional Government, apprehending that the rail-road bridge might be used as a *point d'appui* for the Austrian guns, ordered that, besides the five arches nearest to the city, which had been already destroyed, eight more should be blown up. For the defense of the bridge, one hundred gun-boats, each with four guns, were posted at different points on the lagoons.

The Austrians attempted, on the 7th of June, to cross the Brenta, near Busola, for the purpose of attacking Brondolo. Meanwhile the brig Montecuculli and the steamer Vulcano bombarded the batteries of Calino, and the steamer Custoza threw a great number of shells into Sottomarina, near Chioggia; but all these were unavailing, as the troops found it impossible to

resist the destructive fire of the ninety guns on the fort of Brondolo. In consequence of this failure, the Austrians resolved to make no further attempt on Brondolo, but to await its fall until Venice should be taken, as it would then be impossible for it to survive the parent city.

On the morning of the 15th of June, Radetzky being present, the Austrians opened a terrible fire from their batteries on the bridge and the island of San Giuliano, at the Venetian batteries, and also sent a few bombs against the city, three of which struck an old shed and an old church, situated at the *extreme* limit of the town. The main fire was, however, directed against the Venetian battery on the bridge and the small fortified island of San Secundo near it. They kept up an awful fire for three days and nights, but with no great success, as the balls, for the most part, fell short. Of upward of two thousand bombs, which the Austrians threw, only an average of two per day fell into the fort, all the rest falling into the water or bursting in the air. One dead, and six or seven wounded, was all the loss which the Venetians sustained in the three days and nights of terrific firing.

The spectacle presented by this bombardment was indeed a magnificent one. From the house-tops, in the extremity of the city, totally out of danger, one might behold the scene with the utmost tranquillity. With an ordinary telescope he could observe all that was transpiring at Malghera, the tops of the casernes crowded with Austrian officers gazing at the extraordinary spectacle — the enemy load and fire their guns and mortars—the progress of the balls and bombs as they course through the air, and at length fall into the water, casting huge volumes of spray into the air. While, nearer, the Venetian batteries on the bridge; the *tete du pont* in the city, and the little fort of San Secundo in the lagoons, were vying with each other in the rapidity with which they returned the enemy's fire. At night the scene was incomparably more grand; men, women, and children line the shores; the water is covered with barks and gondolas by the delighted spectators to witness the gorgeous scene; the lagoon, all along the bridge, filled with armed boats of every description; while the perfect shower of balls and bombs from the batteries, in every direction lighting

up the whole heavens, and, at the same time, being reflected in the water, presented a scene of awful grandeur rarely, if ever, before witnessed.

The Venetians seemed now more than ever bent upon "resistance at all hazards." Amid the shower of balls and bombs, on the 17th of June, the Assembly met and confirmed again the resolution to resist, and broke up with enthusiasm, after appointing a Committee of Defense, of three persons, with *unlimited powers;* also another committee of five, to govern the town *ad latus* with Manin. The people were not all pleased at the idea of Manin's treating with De Bruck upon any condition, and it was for the purpose of having some supervision of his movements, it is said, that this last committee was formed. All that portion of the city (the outward limits) occupied by the fishermen, which *might* be damaged by bombs, was abandoned enthusiastically by the people, who were transferred to the marble palaces on the Grand Canal. Instead of repining at being obliged to abandon their humble dwellings, it was a perfect *fête* to them; and in the utmost glee as they moved along with their scanty effects, "Let the old houses go," they said; "we would rather have bombs than Croats." On the 20th of June, propositions of capitulation were made by the Venetians. Field-marshal Thurn suspended the bombardment, and dispatched a courier to Milan. Field-marshal Radetzky rejects the proposals known as the *ultimatum* of Manin, and soon the great guns begin to labor again. As the lagoons prevented the approach of artillery, the troops not being advanced a yard beyond the position which they took on the fall of Malghera, an attempt was made, on the 24th of June, to bombard Venice by balloons. Five balloons, each twenty-five feet in diameter, were constructed at Treviso. In a favorable wind these balloons were to be launched, and directed as near as possible to Venice, and, on their being brought in a vertical position over the town, the fire was to begin by means of electro-magnetism. Each of the five bombs fixed to the boat was in communication with a large galvanic battery placed on the shore by means of a long isolated copper wire. The fusee was to be ignited by cutting the wire. The bomb then falls perpendicularly, and explodes on reaching the ground.

By this means twenty-five bombs a day, it was thought, might be thrown, supposing the wind to be favorable. Experiments, previously made at Treviso, had succeeded completely; but on the 24th, when tried over the lagoons, owing to a change in the wind after the balloons were discharged, the three attempts which were made failed, and the balls, instead of reaching the city, fell into the sea.

On the 1st of July, the bombardment was again suspended, on account of *parliamentiares* sent from Venice; the same terms are proposed; and the Venetian Assembly decides that "the conditions offered by Austria are so humiliating, that they can not be accepted;" and again it is resolved to resist. They could not rely, it was urged, upon the promises of the Austrians; as much had been promised in 1815, and but little carried into effect. Resistance now, however, without object and without hope, seemed to be the result of a spirit bordering on desperation.

Protected by their insular position and the extent of the lagoons, they might resist for a time; but assuredly the day would come, and that before long, when, for want of the means of subsistence, all resistance must cease. Already had food of all kinds become exceedingly scarce, and particularly those articles upon which the poorer classes subsisted. For many days past the entire population had begun to eat *black* bread, and it was fully evident that, in a few weeks, they would be deprived even of that humble diet.

As long as they remained supplied with any means of subsistence, they might defy the Austrian artillery; but that they must fall by hunger, in a short time, was now apparent to all. In this respect the whole city had been woefully deceived. The government had assured the people that Venice was furnished with provisions for a year; but the truth was now for the first time disclosed, that the provisions then in the city could last but six weeks, while the blockade, both by sea and land, was so close as to exclude all hope of obtaining the slightest addition to the stock. Despite this heart-rending development, the town continued perfectly tranquil, nor was the determination to resist the enemy in the slightest degree impaired. In the mean time, the roar of the enemy's cannon was heard unceas-

ingly night and day. They continued to send a few bombs toward Venice; but, as they fell short of the city, they occasioned no concern among the population.

On the night of the 7th of July, as a matter of further precaution, the Venetians blew up six more arches of the rail-road bridge. So tremendous was the concussion, that the inhabitants of Padua, a town at the distance of fifteen miles, felt the ground sensibly shake beneath them; while at Treviso, no less than twenty miles off, the population were aroused from sleep.

On the night of the 9th, the Austrians made a bold attempt, which succeeded beyond all expectation, and, had it been properly followed up, might have caused the immediate downfall of the city. Some twenty or thirty men, well armed, approached in boats a Venetian battery of seven guns, on the rail-road bridge, and, without being discovered, took possession of it, and held it for the space of forty minutes; they spiked the guns, but, before they could get away, re-enforcements arrived, four of them were left on the spot, and the others, who escaped in the boats, must have suffered greatly, as the tide next morning brought down convincing proofs. It was a desperately bold undertaking, and executed most gallantly. The Venetians, however, soon unspiked their guns, and, in three or four hours after, continued their usual fire.

Toward the end of July, the incessant roar of cannon, which for thirty-two days and nights, without intermission, had continued to sound and resound upon the ear of the Venetians, began now, from some cause unknown to them, gradually to subside. By some, this cessation of hostilities on the part of the Austrians was ascribed to the preparation necessary for a new and more terrible mode of attack. And, what added force to this conjecture, was the intelligence which had reached them that Marshal Radetzky was then at Mestre, busily engaged in inspecting all the works, and superintending the construction of strong howitzer batteries at St. Giuliano and other important positions, which had hitherto remained unoccupied.

Others very naturally supposed that the enemy, finding it a useless expenditure of powder and shot, had abandoned the

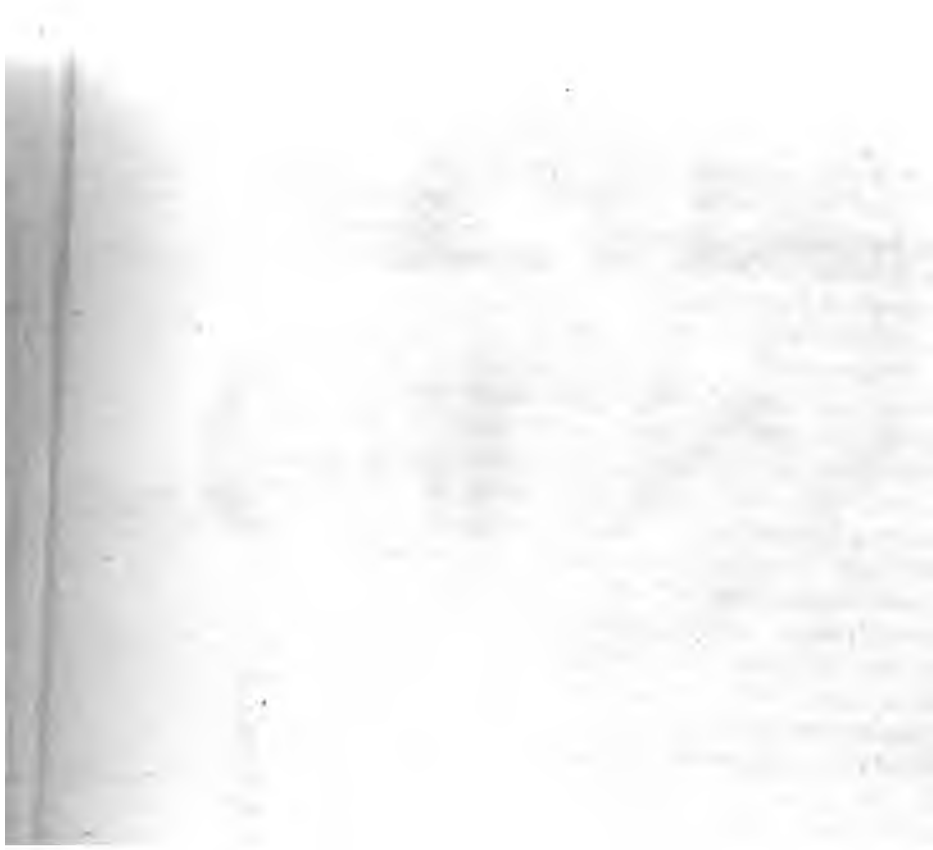
idea of taking the city by storm, and were resolved to await until starvation should accomplish what their army could not effect. And, as the city began now to experience the first effects of famine, this seemed for the moment the more probable conclusion.

The crowds around the bakers' shops were already so dense that several persons had been pressed to death. Meat and wine were almost completely exhausted, and bread of the worst quality exceedingly scarce. Notwithstanding these severe demands upon their patriotism and courage, public opinion in Venice on the subject of resistance was still unchanged—the people seemed still resolved "to hold out to the last;" while the activity at the arsenals, and at all the posts, appeared to indicate that some great enterprise was to be undertaken before the final catastrophe arrived. For some time previously, a rumor had been circulated in Venice that, on the 1st of August, the Austrians intended to commence another and more awful assault upon the city than any that had hitherto been witnessed; but there were few of its pleasure-loving inhabitants who listened with credulity to this whisper of fancy, and even they dreamed not of any thing more disastrous than that which they had already encountered. But, when the silence which reigned over the waters of the lagoons had been for many days unbroken by a single hostile gun, on Sunday, the 31st of July, at midnight, when the lower classes were quietly reposing in their beds, and the higher and gayer circles, as was their custom, promenading the illuminated Piazza of St. Mark, or seated under its extended balconies, carelessly sipping their coffee or puffing their cigars—no sooner had the bell in the tower of St. Mark tolled the hour of twelve, and announced the fact that the 1st of August had appeared, than they found themselves in the midst of a shower of red-hot shot, more terrible than the irruption of Vesuvius on Pompeii, and covering at once nearly three fourths of the city. In a moment, all Venice was alive. The streets were crowded with the residents of the invaded section—men, women, and children, all hurrying toward the Castillo and the public gardens, where the projectiles did not reach, and running, as it were, the gauntlet through those narrow ways, amid the shot and rubbish,



idea of taking the city by storm, and were resolved to await





broken chimneys, and severed cornices that were at every step rattling down about their heads. Yet not a complaint was uttered, not a tear shed. The people of the exposed districts quartered themselves upon the occupants of the other sections with as much composure as if they had been members of one family; and nothing was heard but imprecations upon an enemy who, avoiding the breasts of soldiers ready and willing to receive them, attempted to force a capitulation upon the town, by routing the women and children from their beds, in hopes, through their screams and tears, to accomplish that which their personal valor had been unable to effect.

The torrent of balls, which continued to fall incessantly, night and day, had no other result than to destroy property and demolish the most beautiful works of architecture and sculpture. On the Grand Canal, nearly every palace was perforated, and some, particularly those of Mocenigo (which Lord Byron occupied), had thirty-six balls; Balbi, Persico, etc., boast of having received as many as thirty or forty balls each. A number of the churches, viz., the Frari, the Scalzi, San Giovanni e Paolo, etc., with their splendid marble and statuary, suffered severely.*

The means by which the Austrians succeeded at length in throwing their projectiles into the city, a point which they had endeavored in vain for months to accomplish, was by mounting at San Giuliano pieces of eighty pounds and Paixhan guns of the heaviest calibre, and firing with muzzles raised to a considerable elevation; the balls then, in describing the parabolic curve, would descend and fall within the city; whereas, discharged on a level, or aimed directly at the object, as had previously been done, at a distance of five or six miles, the balls invariably fell short of their destination, and sank without effect beneath the waters.

On the 1st of August, the day upon which this awful bombardment commenced, two thousand Venetians made a sally from Brondolo, and, after capturing a few hundred oxen, retired. During the evening the tidings of that expedition reached Venice; and while the population of that gay capital were

* One shot struck the *Rialto*.

quietly seated in the magnificent Fenice under the shower of red-hot shot (for the theatre was in the invaded district), enjoying, as composedly as though nothing had happened, the performance of "William Tell," the enthusiasm which the narration of this slight success created was so great, that the continuation of the drama was dispensed with, and the occasion converted into a national festival.

Day after day, unceasingly, the cannonading continues; at many points the bombs set fire to the buildings, but these are soon extinguished without much injury; and as the balls seldom, if ever, penetrated further than the roof and one story, the population are unconcerned. Provisions become hourly more scarce; the supply can last but two weeks longer, and yet the people very quietly say, "We will hold out until we have nothing more to eat, and then the Croats may come and do what they please."

To add to the horrors of their situation, the cholera broke out among the inhabitants in its most dreadful and malignant form, its ravages, doubtless, increased by the scanty and unwholesome food upon which they had been for some time compelled to subsist; and yet, amid all these disasters, the city remained tranquil, the Place of St. Mark was as much frequented as ever, and the countenances of the Venetians as bright as though enjoying the sunshine of the palmiest days of the republic.

On the 14th of August, Marshal Radetzky, aware of the state to which the city was reduced, renewed his efforts to induce it to capitulate, by offering nearly the same terms that had been previously rejected. Strange that now, when ammunition, food, medicine, drink, even water was failing—when to the general misery and squalor the cholera is added, carrying off from eighty to one hundred a day, in Venice and Chioggia, families without bread, without a roof, in search of shelter and victuals, old men, women, and children crammed into the public store-houses, or under the naked sky exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather and all the bombs and balls of the Austrians, these terms, quite as moderate as could possibly have been expected, were again rejected.

On the 17th, the president of the republic, warned by the

rapid progress of public danger that longer resistance was impossible, in consultation with the commandant of the French squadron and the French consul, it was decided, as the only and last means of safety, to send a Venetian deputation to the Austrian camp with an offer of capitulation. General Gergowski, commander of the Austrian troops before Venice, received the deputation on the 19th; and, in reply to their application, stated that he had no power to treat, but that he would immediately forward their note to Milan, and that during the time necessary to receive a reply from Marshal Radetzky he would consent to slacken his fire on the city; and further, that Venice might confide in the paternal intentions of the emperor, and in the enlightened and liberal spirit of his government. The deputation, comprehending the exact value to be attached to such phrases, returned dejected and disconsolate to Venice.

Time rolls on, the reply from Milan is hourly expected, the destiny of a nation hangs on the balance, and a day becomes an age. The fire of the enemy, somewhat slackened on the 20th and 21st, is renewed on the night of the latter with as great severity as ever. What will be the nature of the reply from Milan? What terms will an all-powerful and long-provoked enemy inflict upon an utterly weak and prostrate foe?

No one knows, but all fear they will be rigorous in the extreme. The republic approaches its end. Venice has but two days' provisions left, and those of the worst kind. The progress of the cholera is frightful. The absolute and unconditional surrender of the city within two days, inevitable. The 22d of August arrives, and with it the answer of the field-marshal. That octogenarian commander, as magnanimous as renowned, has affixed no additional stipulations on his fallen foe; the terms are accepted by the municipality of Venice, in whose favor the Provisional Government and the National Assembly have abdicated their powers; the firing has ceased on both sides, and the republic of Venice is no more.

Her defense stands alone—like her marble palaces and her renown—in the midst of seas and of the ages of the world. She falls as she has lived, free from excesses, free from violence; and, while enduring incredible privations, has never yielded to anarchy. Overpowered by superior forces, and

yielding to the weight of events which it was impossible to withstand, ruined in every thing but spirit, Venice falls battling heroically for her ancient and long-cherished independence.*

General Gorzgowsky entered Venice on the 28th, and Marshal Radetzky, in great state, on the 30th. At nine o'clock on that morning, the thunder of the cannons of Malghera announced that the steamer on which he had embarked had commenced her passage through the lagoons. The batteries of San Secundo and Piazzale del Ponti saluted the hero as he passed. At the entrance of the Canasegio, where the marshal and his staff descended into the gondolas prepared for the occasion, his reception was solemn and imposing. As they sailed up the Grand Canal, the windows were decorated as in the happiest and most glorious days of Venice. From all the towers the bells sounded joyously; and, on reaching the Piazetta, the large bells of St. Mark were heard amid the salvos of artillery from all the war-ships in port. After reviewing the troops in the Place of St. Mark, Radetzky attended mass in the cathedral, and later in the day sat down to a sumptuous banquet which had been prepared, surrounded by all the civil and military authorities. In the evening, the Piazza was brilliantly illuminated in his honor, while the air resounded

* The treaty was signed by General Gorzgowsky[1] on the part of the imperial government, and by the Podesta Correr on that of the Venetians. The Austrian troops, in a formal manner, occupied the city; and, one after the other, all the forts surrounding it; disarmed the Venetian soldiers, and took possession of the navy. Manin took his departure on the 27th, in the French steamer Pluto, for Corfu; and the rest of the proscribed were conveyed away in eight merchant vessels to Corfu, Patras, Alexandria, and Constantinople. Not less than sixty thousand shot and shells were expended on Venice, besides the fifty-seven thousand thrown into Malghera. The costs of the siege to the Austrians, as estimated by General Hess, are ten thousand deaths; number of invalids and sick, fifteen thousand; and the cost of war material one million of florins. More than another million will be required for the repair of the fortifications and to make good the losses to the treasury. For the repair of the rail-road bridge (according to Negrelli), two hundred thousand florins, a moderate calculation, considering thirty-four arches are destroyed, and three ready to tumble in. The amount of Venetian paper out is forty-five millions of livres, or one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling, an enormous burden to be incurred by a city of one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants.

[1] For the capitulation of the Venetians, see Appendix, note 9.

with *vivas* to his name. The imperial eagle supplanted upon the standards the lion of St. Mark; and joy, and plenty, and gladness now reigned where, a few days before, there was naught but misery, starvation, and suffering, a striking example of the vicissitudes of human existence.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF BOHEMIA.—ITS CONVERSION BY THE HABSBURG DYNASTY FROM A CONSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTIVE MONARCHY INTO AN UNLIMITED AND HEREDITARY KINGDOM.—THE OUTBREAK AT PRAGUE IN 1848, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TROOPS AND PEOPLE.—BOMBARDMENT AND SUBJUGATION OF THE CITY.

In the middle of the sixth century, Bohemia, then settled by Germans, was overrun by a branch of the great Slavic nation known as the Czechi.* As her history from that day to this consists chiefly of a struggle between the two races, a short account of the former seems almost indispensable.

As to the origin of the Slavi, historical writers furnish us with two prominent opinions. The first is, that the Slavi were a foreign race, which, at the period of the great national immigration, in the fourth and fifth centuries, appeared for the first time on the historical stage, in connection with the Huns and other Asiatic tribes.

The second theory is, that they were primitively a European people who had long lived on that continent, among foreign races which became subsequently extinct. The present number of the Slavi, the resemblance of many of their words to those of the Greek and Roman, the absence of all proof as to their immigration, the mixture with Gothic, old Scandinavian, Scythian, Celtic, etc., words of now obsolete languages; the similarity of manners, customs, and legislation to those of the most ancient nations in Europe; and the identity of the names of cities and rivers with Slavian terminations adopted by the Greeks and Romans, are all facts that favor the conclusion that the Slavi were not of Asiatic origin, but an aboriginal European branch of the great Scythian race. Although con-

* In Bohemian, Czechowé, so called from Czech, their leader. The English orthography, "Czecks," does not answer the Bohemian pronunciation, which contains at the end the sound of the aspirate χ of the Greek, and which, phonetically, can not be devised in English.

founded by the ancients with the Scythians and Sarmatians, their specific name among the Greeks was Ενετοι, of which the Latin translation was Venetæ. The Germans called them Wenden, the Scandinavians Vanar, and the name by which they called themselves was Serba or Sirbi. The name Slavi, or Slavonians, which has superseded them all, is derived by Slavian philologists from the abstract word *Slava*, meaning "glory;" or *Slovo*, meaning "speech."*

The chief seat of the Slavi was the north of the Black Sea and the Carpathian Mountains, and between the Baltic and the Volga. They are the most numerous of the European races, and are estimated at this time at eighty millions. This race was at first agricultural, but chiefly pastoral and nomadic, great horse-breeders and cattle-rearers, moving about along the banks of the rivers that flow into the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the Baltic; but subsequently, toward the close of the Roman period, when they exchanged the nomadic for the settled and industrial mode of life, they embraced many thousand villages, scattered over the present limits of Russia and Poland. Toward the close of the fourth century, the Slavi, overwhelmed by hordes of barbarians, much confusion arose in the traditions concerning them; but soon they began to emerge from the chaos around them. They reappeared in history; and Christianity, which they received at one and the same time from Byzantium and Rome, brought them once more within the pale of civilization. Their governments were purely democratic, and conducted by popular assemblies, held, like those of the early Greeks, in the open air, in which all full-grown men, without distinction, had a right to participate. Slavery was unknown among them, and even foreign captives were, after a certain time, admitted to civil rights.

To no people was individual, despotic power more repugnant to the national spirit than among the Slavi; a somewhat singular circumstance when contrasted with their present condition, subjected as those nations now are to the yoke of Russia, Austria, and Turkey. Spreading over so vast an extent of country, and presenting such varieties of climate, soil, and

* North British Review.

neighborhood, it was but natural that the great Slavian mass should gradually fall asunder into fragments, and be in time distinguished from each other by peculiarities of feature, language, and customs. Indeed, three such spontaneous fragments appear very early to have exhibited themselves, in the Northern Slavi, ancestors of the present Russians; the Central Slavi, or the ancestors of the Poles; and the Southern Slavi, or ancestors of the present Bohemians, Moravians, and Slavonians of Hungary. Had no foreign causes interfered, had the three Slavian nationalities that were thus gradually forming themselves been allowed to arrive at maturity, uninfluenced by any thing from without, we should then have witnessed in their history and their condition, at the present hour, the spectacle of a free development of the Slavic genius in all its force and all its peculiarity. We should have seen in what form of government, applicable to civilized states of large extent, the peculiar democratic spirit of the original Slavi would in course of time have resulted. But the Slavic people were not suffered uninterruptedly to work out their own destiny, or of themselves to evolve a pure and peculiar civilization of their own unaided energy; but at the period of the great migrations of nations, when Goths and Huns, Avars and Magyars, Franks and Monguls, were rolling and dashing over the surface of Europe like the waves of a troubled ocean, they were assailed, broken in upon, and disrupted into the four following fragments. The Muscovites, or great Russians, extending from the Baltic inland as far as the Dwina and the Volga, and ruled over by a Scandinavian dynasty; the Lechs, or Poles, forming two independent nations of Lithuania and Poland Proper, extending from the Oder to the Dnieper, and from the Baltic to the Carpathian Mountains; the Czechi, or Slavi, of the three independent states of Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary; and the medley of Græco-Slavic nations, Croats, Servians, Bulgarians, Slavonians, and Dalmatians, attached to the Greek empire. Such, in the ninth century, were the four leading divisions of the Slavic family; and these divisions, owing to the stationary character of the Slavi, remained permanent for nine centuries, creating isolated states, and producing, in course of time, the difference of accent and terminations which at this

day characteristically mark the various Slavic languages. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the same four divisions remained, though not quite identical with those of the ninth century, since, at this time, they had become divided and shared out between the powerful nations which they adjoined, and which had in the interim extended their respective sceptres over them. The Muscovite or Russian fragment of them, which was then but assuming shape under the sway of the Scandinavian chiefs, has since, by various additions, been swelled into the Slavic nucleus of an immense and complicated empire, and governed in the most absolute manner by the will of the Czar. Out of the principal mass of the Lechs, or Central Slavi, again originally divided into Poles and Lithuanians, there had arisen a united Polish nation, consisting of a caste of free nobles and serfs. Again, out of the north-western fringe of the Lechs, added to the whole body of the ancient Czechi, and to the northern portion of the Græco-Slavi, there had been formed an immense Slavian population, attached to the confederated German empire, part adhering to Prussia, and governed by the Prussian kings, and the remainder (including the Bohemians, Moravians, Slovacks of Hungary, Croats, and Slavonians) adhering to Austria, and governed by the Austrian sovereigns. Finally, the former Græco-Slavic states of Servia, Bulgaria, and Bosnia had, after many vicissitudes, been detached altogether from the Christian world, and annexed to the motley empire of the Turks, to be governed or misgoverned by Turkish *pashas*, depending on the sultan and the Ottoman Porte. Since the last-mentioned period no political change has taken place in regard to the Slavic race, except that the great Polish nation, occupying the lands to the south of Russia, from the Oder to the Dnieper, and stretching at one time from the Baltic to the Black Sea, has been conquered and divided between the three more powerful states of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and her name effaced from the map of Europe. From the general view of the Slavic race, we pass for a moment to the consideration of those of the Slavi who are subject to and reside within the limits of Austria, and whose number far exceeds those of all the other races of the empire, as the following table demonstrates:

Of the	2,317,864	inhabitants of the	Archduchy of Austria..	17,864	are Slavi.
"	997,200	"	Styria.....	380,452	"
"	1,269,477	"	Illyria	825,604	"
"	848.177	"	Tyrol		"
"	4,318,732	"	Bohemia	3,065,232	"
"	2,242,167	"	Moravia and Silesia	1,556,500	"
"	10,500,000	"	Hungary, with Slavonia and cir. Croatia	4,030,000	"
"	2,118,000	"	Transylvania.....	400	"
"	1,235,466	"	Military Frontier.....	895,966	"
"	405,854	"	Dalmatia	251,340	"
"	4,876,549	"	Lombardo-Venet. kingdom		
"	4,980,480	"	Galicia.....	4.446.640	"
	36,110,272			15,769,998	

Of the 36,110,272 inhabitants of Austria, 7,817,711 are of the Roman race.
7,071,825 " German "
5,634,738 " Asiatic "
15,469,998 " Slavic "

From the above estimate, it might naturally be supposed that the Austrian was essentially a Slavic empire; but the intellectual condition of the people, as well as the geographical location of the Slavi, render their political preponderance impossible. The religion of this race in Austria is chiefly that of the Roman Catholic; for its greater part belongs to the Western Slavi, who received their religious forms from the West (A.D. 700–1000); while, on the other hand, the Græco-Slavi were converted by Greek missionaries (A.D. 640–1100), and consequently adopted the rites and doctrines of the Greek Church. From this fact it occurs that the Poles and the Czechi became members of the great confederacy of the Western nations, while the other fell back, as it were, into the arms of the East. This distinction was perpetuated by certain corresponding differences in the written characters used by the two groups of people. First, the Cyrilic alphabet (devised by the Greek monk Cyril 873) was used with the vernacular form of service, even in Bohemia and Moravia; where, indeed, Cyril preceded the Latin missionaries; ultimately, however, by the strenuous exertions of the Romish Church, the Latin character and the Latin form of service triumphed among all the Slavic Romanists, with the exception of some Romanist communities among the Græco-Slavi of the Adriatic, for whom an expressly new character was invented, called the Glagolitic, and who were allowed, besides, to retain their vernacular serv-

ice. The use of the Cyrilic character, therefore, became a characteristic of the Slavi of the Greek Church. As was the case formerly among the Germans, so among the Slavians, the secession from the Catholic Church produced two parties among the people, which operated injuriously upon the unity of the nation. The Austrian Slavi may be said to be all Roman Catholics, with the exception of from one million nine hundred thousand to two millions, in Croatia, Slavonia, and the military frontier, who profess the Greek religion; and from seven to eight hundred thousand in Hungary, who are Protestants. Among the Slavi of Austria there are eight distinct languages of the Græco-Slavic tongue, viz.: Bohemian, Slovackian, Polish, Ruthenian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Illyrian.* The Latin character is employed in them all, except with the Serbians, where the Cyril character has been adopted. Though all these dialects differ from one another, the root being the same, men of education in either may make themselves intelligible, while the illiterate of different provinces would find it difficult to be understood. Among them the Polish, like the French in the Romanic race, is regarded as the language of conversation; the Bohemian, like the English, the language of science; and those of the Southern Slavi like the Italian and Spanish, the languages best adapted to poetry. Civilization is further advanced among the Slavi than is in general supposed. They have all passed already the first stadium of literature, and their poetic effusions are marked by all the glow of a more Eastern imagination; but, subdued and oppressed as they have always been, the Slavic Muse still preserves a gloomy, but martial character. The branches of Slavian literature are six, viz.: Bohemian, Polish, Servian, Croatian, Dalmatian, and Slovenian. Productions of no mean merit have appeared in each; while excellent translations of foreign works which they embrace exhibit the perfection to which these languages have attained. To the two Western races of Europe, the Slavic genius, no less than the Oriental, is remarkable for its essential and striking originality. The fact of this great difference may lead to important consequen-

* The inhabitants of Dalmatia and Istria.

ces, and at some future day transform the numerous, now isolated states, into three grand national confederations. That antagonistic spirit of the Slavic race to the Germanic and Romanic people produced in our time the first step toward its concentration.

When, in 1814, the Russians triumphed over the French; and when, at a later period, in 1829, victory bore the Russian eagles to the plains of Adrianople, the Slavi every where awoke from their lethargy, and but a single thought occupied their minds, and that was, that of their own approaching regeneration. Two prominent theories on this subject have been entertained; the one the so-called theory of Panslavism, the other the theory of spontaneous separation into distinct nationalities. Panslavism, in imitation of the Panhellenism among the Greeks, implies the amalgamation of all Slavi, of every denomination, either into one nation or confederation, or into a moral and intellectual community, based upon common origin and upon similarity of language, though diversified by various idioms, the general ground-work would form a literary language, to be adopted by all, and thus create a firm bond of union between them. This theory, in its origin purely literary, was first promulgated by John Kollar, a Slovack of Hungary. He demonstrated that, various as are the languages spoken by the wide-spread Slavic race, these languages do not differ from each other more than did the different dialects of the ancient Greek, and, consequently, that, as the ancient Greek nations had a common language and a common literature, so might the modern Slavic nations, if they chose to decree it. To effect this end, he proposed that there should be a literary reciprocity among all the Slavic nations; that is, that all the Slavic literati, Russian, Polish, Bohemian, and Servian, should make themselves acquainted with the different languages of their race, so that the past as well as the future literary accumulation of each Slavic people or tribe might be rendered accessible to all Slavi, and a Panslavic literature be thereby instituted. The other theory—that of the spontaneous separation of the Slavic mass into distinct nationalities—may be said to have originated in the labors of an Illyrian, Dr. Ludovic Gay, who, in the year 1835, established at Agram the Croat Gazette (Lovine Hor-

vatzki), with a supplement, entitled the "Morning Star of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia." The leading idea of this journal was the consolidation of the several Slavic nations of the extreme South, both Austrian and Turkish, viz.: the Illyrians, Croats, Slavonians, Servians, Slovenians, Bosniaks, Montenegrins, and Bulgarians, into one body or state, to be called *Great Illyria.*

These nations, Gay argued, properly constituted but one mass; they all belonged to what historians had called the Græco-Slavic branch of the great nation, and, though dissevered by circumstances, should be united.*

The institutions of the old state and people of Bohemia, like those of the Slavi in general, were democratic in their nature, although not long after the acquisition of the country the seeds of aristocracy began to be developed, and later the monarchical principles. According to an old tradition, handed down by Cosmas (1125), the ducal authority had its origin in the assumption and exercise of *judicial* power.

A senate of twelve members, called *Kmety*, were assigned the duke, who, in the nature of a cabinet or council of ministers, aided him in the administration of the affairs of state; and, even as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they continued to constitute the supreme tribunal of state. They were elected for life, and were not removable.

The higher population, or those possessed of property, com-

* That these tendencies were at first decidedly Panslavistic, can not be denied, as the following, one of the earliest articles in this newly-founded journal, will amply suffice to prove: "Europe," writes he in this article, "I would fain paint as a virgin, holding in her hand a triangular lyre. In past ages, the tones of this lyre yielded melody to every passing breeze; but suddenly, from north and east, and west and south, there came unchained storms and tempests, and the lyre was violently unstrung, and its music ceased. This lyre is Illyria, and the torn chords are the lands where once its tones were familiar—Corinthia, Carniola, Istria, Styria, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Ragusa, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Pannonia.

"What should we more ardently wish now, when unity seems to be the universal dream of nations, than that all these rent strings of Europe's lyre should once more unite in harmony? How can we attain this end, while each separate chord gives forth a different tone? Let us open the book of our country, and in it see how, in the antique Slavian, are noted down all the sweet sounds of our lyre—the treasured, priceless lyre of Illyria! Who that can understand this symbol," says Gay, at the end of his article, "can for one instant doubt the absolute necessity of unity in language and literature for all Illyria?"

prised three classes or ranks, viz., Kmety, Lechowé, and Vladiky, similar to the divisions which distinguished the judicial tribunal of Libussa, the first princess of Bohemia.

The *Kmety* embraced the council of ministers alluded to above. The Lechowé comprised the large territorial proprietors, to which also belonged the priests (the word *Knez* signifying both priest and prince); and these together constituted the high nobility, and from which subsequently sprang the lords.*

The next class, or Vladiky, were the smaller proprietors, deriving their name from *Vladika*, the chief of a family, as when an inheritance was undivided, the most able of the family was always elected to manage the common interests, and this personage was called Vladika. They represented the people in the Diet, and their descendants formed, in course of time, the lower nobility. Persons without property were divided into two classes: 1st. Those entitled to personal freedom; and, 2d. Those enjoying no freedom. The latter cultivated the fields of the Lechowé, and performed court service to them; the former were personally free, but liable to the payment of certain taxes, or to be called into service.

As early as the ninth century, the country was divided into districts or circles called *Zupa*, each governed by a high functionary called *Zupan* (*comes*, *prefectus*), with several inferior officers under them.

Every *zupa* or circle was provided with a fortified town or fortress, demanded by the troubled state of the times, and used as a place of refuge in cases of hostile invasion. As all such castles or fortresses were considered the property of the duke, it is probable that the zupans or officers were appointed by the duke and his counselors, and were the peculiar privileges of the Lechowé.

Private castles were also constructed and inhabited by the Lechowé. These castles were usually built on the highest elevations which could be found; and hence to this day every important summit in the kingdom is crowned with ruins, attracting the eye of the traveler, and speaking to him of the early troubles and trials of Bohemia.

* Palacky's History of Bohemia.



The Diet of Bohemia was composed of the *Kmety*, Lechowé, and Vladiky. By that body were all important regulations made, all laws framed, and controversies affecting the internal peace of the state decided in the last resort. Questions were determined by a majority, and not by unanimity, as was the case among the Luticians, and afterward among the Poles, where a single vote was sufficient to defeat a measure. The Diet was the supreme tribunal for the whole country; but beside this, each capital of a circle had their own courts, presided over by their own judges.

As her history shows, Bohemia always maintained her state sovereignty; and although the emperors of Germany, since the year 1002, claimed her as a fief of the empire, and her princes as feudal vassals, they never attempted to interfere with her internal administration. But the first blow affecting her independence was given when Boleslaus the Third was driven out of the kingdom, and Ladislaus of Poland elected in his stead. He visited Regensburg (the seat of the empire) for the purpose of seeking the protection of the emperor, Henry the Second, and won his favor by promises of submission, and by declaring himself a vassal of the German empire—an example afterward invariably pursued by those princes who did not feel themselves quite secure upon their seats on the Bohemian throne.

And when, a little more than half a century later, the Emperors of Germany raised Bohemia into a kingdom, the real object of the measure was to connect to the empire, by the bond of vassalage, the large and influential principality of Bohemia. Notwithstanding these proceedings, however, the German emperors never exercised any right of jurisdiction, collected any revenue, or exercised any fiscal prerogatives in Bohemia. Certain reciprocal obligations, it is true, were entered into between the monarchs; as, for example: First, the Bohemian princes were obliged to obey the imperial summons, whenever the emperors thought proper to call them before them; they reserving the right to announce their arrival with fire and flame (*in flamma et igne veniant*); and, in return, on their accession to the throne, upon the emperors devolved the duty of confirming them in their new dignity. Second, the Bohemian

princes engaged to furnish a contingent of three hundred armed men, to attend the emperor to Rome on the occasion of his coronation; and, for this service, the princes obtained the right to vote at the election of the Roman emperors. The Bohemian princes, with their Diet, made all the laws, declared war, concluded treaties, and allotted lands and fiefs, without submitting their decrees for the sanction of the emperors.

Every circle possessed a superior and inferior court, which sat four times a year, and were open to the public. The competency of the tribunal had no reference, as is the case at present in Bohemia, to the condition of the parties, but was regulated, as is now done in all free countries, alone by the nature and importance of the cause. The judges, who presided, were assisted by the ministers of state, and, although the courts were regarded as prerogatives of the crown, the presiding officers never relinquished their independence.

In difficult cases, a trial by jury was arranged. The jurymen were selected by the parties, were sworn before the altar, gave their opinion only on the facts, and a bare majority of their number was sufficient to decide. This important attribute of freedom existed in Bohemia long before it was enjoyed in England, and disappeared only under Charles the Fourth, when, with the election of a German king, German customs gained ascendency.

In short, Bohemia, at this time, presented every where evidences of a Constitution more theoretically free than that of any other of the states of Europe. The peasant might appeal from the magistrate of his own town even to the King's Court, at Prague; while the humblest citizen could, in this court, institute an action against the king himself.

Under the old Slavic institutions, which prevailed until the end of the thirteenth century, there was as little absolutism in Bohemia as in Poland or Hungary. Nay more, rights which in those countries were claimed and exercised alone by a powerful aristocracy, descended in Bohemia to the humblest citizen. It was the glory of this land that, when feudalism prevailed every where else in Europe, her peasants were not serfs, nor her citizens slaves. From Przemysl, the Bohemian peasant, whom Libussa taking from the plow, espoused and made

the first Duke of Bohemia, in 805, to Wenzel the Third, there reigned twenty-three dukes and seven kings; but when Wenzel was killed, at Olmütz, in 1306, the line of Slavic kings became extinct. In very early times, the Dukes of Bohemia were controlled in the exercise of their prerogatives only by the chiefs or representatives of certain powerful clans, which assisted their forefathers in winning the land, and were still ready and prompt to defend it.

But as time advanced this system changed. The ancient distinctions of Kmety, Lechowé, and Vladiky disappeared, and three other divisions representing the same ranks, and in character closely resembling the former, were formed under the appellation of nobles, knights, and citizens.* The high nobility consisted of barons, who went to war with their own men and fought under their own standards; the knights comprised the lower nobility and the burghers, on whom Ottocar conferred political rights, and called their deputies to the Diet, constituted the three classes of the people and the three orders of the Estates (Stände).

Whenever enactments were required which, in their operation, were calculated to affect the well-being of the entire community, the delegates from each of these three orders met to deliberate on them; and these, when passed, if sanctioned by the duke or king, became part of the law of the land.† In the Constitution of Bohemia, consisting originally of oral and traditionary rights and customs, as it came to be settled as early as the close of the 10th century, and as it continued to work with more or less purity until after the 17th century, we accordingly find an executive, with three separate, and, as it were, independent but subordinate estates under it, each enjoying its own privileges and asserting its own rights, without giving the least umbrage or offering the slightest injury to the rest.

The executive was, of course, wielded by the crown, and the order of succession in two ways; that is to say, the hereditary line was generally adopted, and the custom of primogeniture prevailed; but, in the event of a failure, or in the case of abuse, or for other causes deemed sufficient, the people

* Gleig's Bohemia and Hungary. † Ibid.

claimed, and frequently exercised, the right of electing whom they pleased for their sovereign. The right of the people to elect was never questioned by others or surrendered by themselves; and the accession even of a son, or the demise of his father, was always accompanied by the forms of an election; and to mark that such was not a mere empty ceremony, the utmost degree of religious solemnity characterized the performance.* The throne having been declared vacant by the estates or orders assembled, the regalia were brought with great pomp from the neighboring fortress of Stein, which was set apart for their safe-keeping. They were conveyed to the citadel of Prague, where they were arranged in the great hall within which the states assembled to act upon the emergency which had arisen, and, the burgrave or chief magistrate taking the chair, lots were cast to determine who should be king. The ballot over, the burgrave arose, and thus announced the vote: "In the name of the Most High, whose favor and protection we invoke for this realm, I, supreme burgrave of Prague, by virtue of my office, declare that the choice of the Estates has fallen upon the high and mighty prince (naming him), and I require that he be accepted as King of Bohemia." Immediately an officer proclaimed it from the window that a new king had been elected. The crowds which waited below raised a shout in testimony of satisfaction, and, the process of election concluded, it remained only to go forward with the more solemn parts of the ceremony. Accordingly, the regalia were borne back in procession to the strong depositary; the king elect proceeded in great state to the cathedral, where he received the holy sacrament, and was crowned and anointed by the archbishop, having first of all sworn upon the holy Evangelists that he would govern according to the law of the land, preserve the property of the nation, and defend the rights and privileges of all classes of his subjects from every aggressor.

After the extinction of the line of native Bohemian kings, the Diet elected John of Luxemburg, son of Henry the Seventh, in 1311, to the vacant throne.

Under the German kings of this dynasty, Bohemia reached

* Gleig's Bohemia and Hungary.

her greatest splendor, particularly under the reign of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, who encouraged commerce, mining, and agriculture; promoted science; founding at Prague the first German university, Bohemia became the central point of German education, and the foundation was laid of that high intellectual elevation which, breaking forth about a century after in religious frenzy, was to involve all Europe in the flames of war.*

Upon ascending the throne, John of Luxemburg gave to the orders "*a letter of assurance*," which is the First Document of the Bohemian Constitution. In that letter (1310) he gave the assurance that the property, the rights, and the privileges of the clergy and the nobility should undergo no alteration in their institutions. He declared that the nobility and people of Bohemia and Moravia should not be compelled to march in any war beyond the frontier, and that, in case they should go, they would be entitled to payment for their services; that universal taxes could only be levied on two occasions, at the coronation of the king, and at the nuptials of his daughters. He reaffirmed the old right that, in case of a failure of male and female heirs, relatives to the fourth degree might inherit, and that only in want of all these would the estate revert to the crown; that confiscation should only take place in the case of property belonging to criminals sentenced to death; that foreigners could not be admitted to court offices; and that all strangers who might acquire property in Bohemia, by inheritance, marriage, or gift, should be compelled, in the course of one year, to dispose of the same to some citizen of Bohemia.†

The next document, in chronological order, which appeared upon the subject of Bohemian rights, and forming, consequently, a portion of the Constitution, was that known as the "Golden Bull" (*Aurea Bulla*) of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, 1356. This document, in the rude Latin of the day, embraces twenty-one chapters, relating all to the affairs of the German empire, with the exception of the eighth, which treats of certain immunities of the princes and people of Bohemia. In this article it is declared, that "no prince, baron, noble, soldier, client, citizen,

* Menzel's Germany. † Palacky's History of Bohemia.

inhabitant, or other person in Bohemia, of whatever rank, dignity, or condition, shall be called to answer to any charge before any other tribunal than that of the King of Bohemia himself, or before some of the courts of his kingdom, and that any such call shall be utterly void and of non-effect."

Charles the Fourth (or as he was also known as Charles the First, a prince of learning and character) was of Bohemian descent—his mother, having been a native of that country, exhibited a strong partiality toward a land with which he was so strongly identified. "In 1348, he bestowed a new code of laws upon Bohemia; in 1355, declared Moravia, Silesia, and the Lusatia inseparable from that country. He also granted the greatest privileges to the aristocracy and to the cities; encouraged mining and agriculture; rendered the Moldau navigable as far as the Elbe; brought German artificers into the country; and converted the whole of Bohemia into a garden."*

In the midst of the smiling country stood the noble city of Prague, whose fine public edifices, the regal Hradshin, as well as the celebrated bridges, are his works; while the university which he had established, called together, according to the most moderate accounts, no less than twenty thousand students from all parts of Germany.

But this state of unparalleled prosperity was but of short duration. In a few years the great Bohemian reformer, the pioneer of Protestantism, preceding Luther by a hundred years, arose. This bold reformer, with a view to restore to the corrupt Church the simplicity and purity of scriptural Christianity, ventured to censure publicly the immorality of the priests, to preach against the sale of indulgences in Bohemia; declared masses for the dead, image worship, monastic life, auricular confessions, fasts, etc., to be inventions of spiritual despotism and superstition, and the withholding the cup at the Lord's Supper unscriptural.

The promulgation of such heresies, as they were considered, amid the universal ascendency of Catholicism, could not fail to provoke against him all the thunders of the Vatican. Huss was burned at the stake (and his ashes thrown into the Rhine); but the flame which he had raised, and in which he was con-

* Coxe's House of Austria.

sumed, was not extinguished when his ashes were committed to the rapid waters of the Rhine, but led to the most bloody and terrible wars, in which whole villages were burned and the inhabitants put to the sword, convents and churches plundered and destroyed, and monks and priests murdered, even the emperor himself suffocated, and this most flourishing kingdom almost transformed into a desert. The wild Hussite wars, under their famous blind warrior, Ziska, continued for sixteen years; but at length, weakened by divisions among themselves, and the multitudes of sects into which they were separated, the Catholics succeeded at length in treading out every spark of that mighty conflagration which the Reformers had raised.*

As these wars were not merely religious contests, but also national struggles, the emperor and his priests being as hateful as *foreign* rulers, as on account of their *theological errors*, the defeat of the Bohemians was of course the triumph of the Germans; and, after the death of Louis the First, king of Bohemia and Hungary, in the battle of Mohacs, 1526, his brother-in-law, Ferdinand the First of Austria, brother of Charles the Fifth, was, by the Stände, elected king of Bohemia. The crowns of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary were thus united.

Louis being the last male of his family, Ferdinand claimed both crowns under a double title, the one derived from family compacts, which secured the reversion to the house of Austria on failure of male issue to the reigning family, and the other in right of his wife Anne, the only sister of the deceased monarch. But the natives of Hungary and Bohemia were too much attached to their rights of election to respect these compacts, or even to acknowledge his claims as husband of the princess; and Ferdinand, prudently, therefore, waving his pretensions, offered himself as a candidate according to the usual mode of election, and being only opposed in Bohemia by Albert, duke of Bavaria, he was, on the 26th of October, 1526, elected by a committee of twenty persons, who were appointed by the Stände to choose a king.

On her connection with Austria, Bohemia was in the full enjoyment of all her liberty as a limited and elective monarchy.

* Menzel's Germany.

"On his accession to the throne, the king was always constrained to acknowledge the right of election, and all the privileges of his subjects, and promised to govern according to the ancient constitution and statutes, particularly those of the emperor, Charles the Fourth. The power of the crown was extremely limited, as well by the privileges of the different orders as by the authority of the Diet, without which he could not impose taxes, raise troops, make war or peace, coin money, or institute and abrogate laws; and thus, in public affairs, he was reduced to a mere cipher."*

When the emperor, Charles the Fifth, determined on subduing the Smalkaldic league of Protestant powers, his brother Ferdinand endeavored to march an army to his assistance; but the Bohemians, being mostly Lutherans, claiming the benefit of that provision of their Constitution which did not allow of their being forced beyond the frontiers of the kingdom, refused to furnish the proffered assistance. They persisted for some time in the course of manly opposition; they entered into confederation among the different states of the kingdom, and raised an army to defend themselves against the foreign troops that were now entering the kingdom, on their way to the Elector of Saxony; and they disregarded the orders of the royal commissaries, who, in the king's name, required them to dismiss their troops and dissolve the confederacy.

In the mean time, Ferdinand labored, by all the means in his power, to check the progress of the Reformation, and exercised the utmost rigor against those who disseminated religious opinions not tolerated by law. As means of diminishing the influence of the capital, he removed several magistrates, and again separated the magistracy of the old and new towns; he re-established the Archiepiscopal See of Prague, and empowered the archbishop to consecrate the Calixtine as well as Catholic priests. But, above all, in total disregard of that document signed and executed by him on his accession to the throne, and by which he acknowledged and declared that "the barons, nobles, citizens, and the whole community of Bohemia had elected him king, not from any duty or obligation, but of

* Coxe's House of Austria.

their own free and good will, and according to the liberty of the kingdom"*—he formally revoked the document, and declared himself *hereditary* sovereign, in virtue of his marriage with Anne (sister of Louis the First), and the exploded compacts between the Austrian and Bohemian princes. This unpopular and glaring breach of faith could not fail to excite the highest indignation among a people so jealous of their privileges, and might have resulted in the total overthrow of the monarch and a restoration of their ancient liberty, had not the tidings of the disastrous battle of Mühlberg, and the total defeat and capture of their ally, the Elector of Saxony, inopportunely arrived at this moment to destroy their projects and crush their hopes.

Those very men who, with the hope of foreign assistance, had displayed such resolution to assert their liberties—the descendants of those who, under Ziska, had singly resisted or deposed their sovereigns, and spread terror throughout Germany, no sooner saw themselves deprived of foreign support, than they sunk into a servility and despondency as degrading as their former decision and boldness had been honorable and praiseworthy. The Stände congratulated the king on the victory, disbanded their forces, and, hurrying to the feet of the monarch, vied with each other in their eager and disgusting demonstrations of loyalty. Ferdinand made no other reply to these tardy offers of submission than threats and reproaches, and, without a moment's delay, prepared to avail himself of all the advantages which this timely victory had given him over his humiliated subjects.

After a memorial, presented to the king by the Stände, declaring that their only object in joining the confederacy was to promote the advantage of the country and protect the prerogatives of the crown, and promising that they would the next day erase their signatures and tear off their seals, and defend the sovereign against all his enemies with their lives and fortunes, Ferdinand condescended to forgive them, but reserved his severest vengeance for the contumacious citizens of Prague. Entering the capital at the head of a numerous army, the king summoned to the palace the mayor, burgomasters,

* For the original, see the Appendix, note No. 10.

magistrates, counselors, jurors, elders, and two hundred and forty of the most distinguished citizens of the three towns. On the day appointed, these persons, amounting to more than six hundred, repaired to the palace, and had no sooner entered than the gates were closed and guarded. The king being thus master of the principal members of the three towns, and those who by their talents or influence might have roused the people to a desperate resistance, was enabled to impose his own terms.

After subjecting them to the utmost humiliation, at the intercession of the archdukes, princes, and lords, and of *his own natural clemency*, he graciously pardoned their offenses on the following conditions. They were to renounce their confederacy with the other states, and, at the next Diet, to break their seals and erase their signatures, and to deliver up all their letters and writings relating to their confederacy; to surrender, without exception, all the acts relating to their privileges and immunities, and to be satisfied with whatever the king should ordain or graciously restore; to bring all their artillery and ammunition to the palace, and the burghers their muskets, and all other arms except swords, to the town-house; to resign all their vassals and property to the king, and to his heirs the sovereigns of Bohemia; to cede all the tolls of the three towns; and to bind themselves to pay his majesty, and his successors forever, a certain tax on beer and malt.*

Having extorted from them an immediate ratification of these hard terms, they were dismissed, except forty of the most dangerous, whom he had reserved to chastise, for the sake of justice and the welfare of the kingdom.

In the mean time, Ferdinand had sent a similar summons to all the towns of the realm, except the loyal cities of Pilsen, Budweis, and Aussig. The chief burgomasters, counselors, and elders of all the other cities were compelled, in like manner, to repair to the palace, and, like those of Prague, were imprisoned until they had surrendered all their estates, tolls, revenues, and privileges, and paid considerable penalties.

As an appropriate conclusion to these proceedings, a Diet was summoned by the king, to meet at the palace of Prague on the 22d of August, 1547, and, with a view to strike addi-

* Coxe's House of Austria.

tional terror, was opened with the execution of four of his principal prisoners, and from which circumstance that assembly has always been distinguished by the appellation of the *Bloody Diet.* After this eight were publicly whipped in each of the three towns; and before each flagellation, the executioner proclaimed, "These men are punished because they were traitors, and because they excited the people against their *hereditary* master."*

Having, by these rigorous measures, restored tranquillity and suppressed almost all seeds of future insurrections, Ferdinand introduced various measures calculated to secure and strengthen his authority. He appointed in each town a judicial officer, whose duty it should be to be present at all public meetings, and to take care that the public authority received no detriment. For the suppression of Lutheranism, to which he ascribed the principal opposition to his designs, he established in Bohemia, in 1556, the order of Jesuits, and intrusted to them the care of public education; he fettered the press, by the establishment of a board for the revision and censure of all publications, in less than a century from the time that the first work was published in Bohemia. Finally, he changed Bohemia from an elective to a hereditary monarchy,† crushed the spirit of a brave people, depressed that energy of mind and military ardor which are inseparable from a free government, and checked that active commercial spirit which flourishes in the consciousness of independence. From these causes, the towns, which had hitherto been remarkable for their commerce, wealth, and population, exhibited, under his reign, the first symptoms of decline, and the Bohemians began to lose that military fame which had rendered them at once the example and the terror of Europe.

Ferdinand was succeeded by his son Maximilian, who, notwithstanding his transformation of Bohemia from an elective to a hereditary monarchy, he took care should be elected by the Stände, and crowned during his life. Maximilian was an amiable prince; and being at heart a Lutheran, and granting to

* Coxe's House of Austria.

† And from that period, as was the case after the same change in Poland, commenced the decline of the kingdom.

his subjects great toleration, both in religion and literature, no difficulties occurred during his reign.

He was succeeded by his son, Rhodolph the Second. The Reformation rapidly approaching, and the power of the Protestants greatly augmenting, the latter were enabled to extort from Rhodolph (through fear of the rivalry of his brother Mathias) a document known as the *Majestic Letter*, considered as the paladium of Bohemia, and by which the ancient religious liberties were restored.

The following is the substance of the *Third Document* of the Bohemian Constitution:

"In answer to the petition of the Stände, in favor of the Utraquists,

"1st. It grants that they may take the holy sacrament under both forms (the wine as well as the bread). That both sects, the *Sub Una* and *Sub Utraque*, shall exercise their religion according to the respective creeds which they had presented, to the full extent, as it had been confirmed by Maximilian; that these parties should have full and free exercise of religion, and that no one should put any impediments in their way.* A perfect equality should be introduced in the erection of churches and founding of schools; that no party should interfere with another in the exercise of any religious ceremony; that no one from the higher classes, or the inhabitants of cities or country, could be *forced* by any authority, civil or spiritual, to change his religion; that he and his successors to the throne should respect these privileges, and that any obstacle or change attempted, either by him or his successors, should be void and of non-effect; that no efforts should be undertaken in opposition to the disposition expressed in the *Majestic Letter*, he orders his superior and inferior officers of the land-table to keep a copy of the document in their records, and that the original be deposited for safe-keeping in the Castle of Stein."†

Two years after the execution of this document, Rhodolph,

* And, as a security for their religious privileges, were to choose certain persons from their body, under the title of Defenders of the Faith, who were to be confirmed by the sovereign, and whose duty it was to watch over the affairs of religion, and prevent any infringement of this edict.

† Pelzel's Bohemia; *Goldasti's Commentarius de Bohemiæ Regno.*

whose converse was more with the stars of heaven than the affairs of earth, was deposed by his brother Mathias. Mathias was chosen king, with all the forms of an elective monarchy, in 1611, and, after confirming the rights and privileges of the nation, civil and religious, was crowned with great splendor and magnificence. He reigned but a few years, and having no heirs, prevailed upon the Diet to accept his cousin, Ferdinand the Second, son of the Archduke Charles, of the Styrian line. He was duly crowned in 1616, after confirming the privileges of the kingdom in the usual forms, and promising not to interfere in the government during the life of Mathias. Ferdinand the Second was the most intolerant of princes; and the Bohemians refused to receive a prince whose acts were in dreadful accordance with his words, that "Bohemia had better be a desert than a country full of heretics." On the 23d of May, 1618, a day from which dates the commencement of the "Thirty Years' War," they threw from the window of the Council-house, on the Hradshin, in Prague, a height of about eighty feet, the two regents of Ferdinand and their secretary; and in the following year the Diet of Stände elected to the throne Frederick the Fifth, elector of the Pfalz. Frederick's reign terminated in a season; and hence he has been distinguished by the *soubriquet* of the "Winter King." The fatal battle on the White Mountain, near Prague, in October, 1620, not only sealed his doom, but crushed forever the hopes and strength of the Protestants, and decided the fate of Bohemia for the two hundred and thirty years that have since elapsed.

The pictures presented to us by the Bohemian historians of the condition of the country, under the mild emperors and kings who reigned toward the close of the sixteenth century, are most gratifying to every friend of freedom and intelligence. The arts and sciences flourished. Prague, the modern Athens, was the seat of learning and refinement. There Tycho Brahé, Kepler, and other eminent minds of the age, studied, wrote, and taught; while, according to their exaggerated accounts, sixty thousand students were congregated from all parts of Europe to gather knowledge at this fount. Poets and orators sung and declaimed; and the works then written still serve as classical models of language.

Of the standard of intellectual advancement which the Bohemians had at this time reached, their language, that unfailing test of the enlightenment of a people, furnishes abundant and striking testimony. While, in some of the provinces of Austria, the language was too imperfect and meagre to bear a translation of the new code adopted on the imperial decrees issued in 1848, the rich and musical Czeckish language was not only amply full and refined for that purpose, but also admitted of admirable translations both of the Greek and Roman classics, as well as the standard works of German literature.*

In religion, too, great toleration prevailed, and the several denominations of Catholics, Protestants, Utraquists, Hussites, and Calixtines lived and worshiped together in peace and friendship.

The Czeckish power had, under these benign influences, attained its maximum. In a Diet held in Prague, in 1615, the question was gravely discussed whether it would not be better to erect Bohemia into a republic like Switzerland or Holland than to elect Frederick of the Palatinate to the throne; no one venturing the question whether the crown was elective or hereditary. In the same sitting, it was decided that all sermons should be delivered in the Czeckish language; that no one should acquire the right of citizenship without a knowledge of that tongue; and that all the enemies of the Bohemian race should be exiled.

But after their defeat on the White Mountain, where the Duke of Bavaria, Ferdinand's general, prevailed over the Winter King, that power was cloven to the earth. The imperial troops overrunning the land, held it like a victim bound to the stake; while Ferdinand, in obedience to the suggestions of his Jesuits, subjected it to a series of tortures of the most elabo-

* No more highly-organized language, we are told, was ever spoken on earth, than the Slavic; vying, in grammatical devices, with the ancient Greek; possessing, for example, numerous declensions, an ablative case, a dual number, a patronymic termination, diminutive and augmentative nouns, frequentative and inceptive verbs, various preterit and future tenses, inflexions of verbs rendering pronouns unnecessary, unlimited powers of compounding words, and a host of serviceable particles; besides all which, it includes every articulate human sound known, except the English *th*.—*North Brit. Review*.

rate and refined cruelty. It was therein minutely determined who should be executed with the ax, and who with the sword; who should have his arm cut off, and who his tongue torn out; who was to be cut into four, and who into eight pieces; and on what gates these several pieces were to be exposed to the public gaze.* By execution, exile, and confiscation, Protestantism, to which three fourths of the population adhered, was completely abolished. Whoever refused to embrace the Catholic religion was declared incompetent to exercise any corporate trade, and was generally deprived of his property and exiled from the country. So far was the system of persecution carried, that the Protestant poor and sick were turned out of the hospitals, and orders given that none but Catholics should be admitted. Not even the dead were suffered to escape. Rokysana's remains were disinterred and burned; and Ziska's monument, and every visible memorial of the heroism of Bohemia, totally demolished. The Letter of Grace of Rhodolph the Second was annulled, and all traces of religious liberty annihilated. The emperor, disregarding his promise to the Elector of Saxony in regard to the Lutherans, declared himself bound in conscience to exterminate all heretics. Ferdinand abolished all the privileges of the Stände, and excluded the Bohemian language from the churches and the law tribunals. All the Bohemian works were collected and burned; and their national language, which they had proudly spoken at the court of the German emperors, now banished from all refined society, and confined alone to the peasantry of the land, disappeared for a long time from the list of written languages.

Perhaps there is not a parallel instance of such a complete change as Bohemia underwent during the reign of Ferdinand the Second. In fact, as the native† historian remarks, at the close of his reflections upon the consequences of the battle of the White Mountain, "Here the history of Bohemia closes, and the history of other nations in Bohemia commences."

* Menzel's Germany.

† Until the battle of the White Mountain, as Menzel states, the Stände enjoyed more exclusive privileges than the Parliament of England. They enacted laws, imposed taxes, contracted alliances, declared war and peace, and chose and confirmed their kings; but all these they have now lost.

After this persecution had been carried on for the space of seven years, the emperor came to Prague, with his family; and, having summoned a Diet, had his son Ferdinand crowned as king.

On the 10th of May, 1627, he decreed a new set of statutes upon the subject of police regulations and affairs of internal administration, reserving to himself the right to increase, amend, and alter such regulations. He stated, at the same time, that another decree, upon the subject of political rights, would be issued in a short time.

On the 27th of the same month, the second decree made its appearance, and in which, in affecting to display his clemency, as well as with a view of preventing the immigration which was daily taking place (nearly forty thousand families, either through banishment or voluntary exile, having left the kingdom), he confirmed all the ancient rights and privileges, with the exception of that of religious freedom, as guaranteed in Rhodolph the Second's Majestic Letter, and the right of the Stände to elect the king.

This *diploma* of Ferdinand the Second, as it is called, and which constitutes the Fourth article in the Bohemian Constitution, is in substance as follows:

He renews and confirms all the Bohemian privileges, excepting those contained in the Majestic Letter of Rhodolph the Second.* That there had been a great rebellion, which, by force of arms and the help of God, he had put down; that for this reason he had the right to abolish all privileges peculiar to this kingdom, so far as they concerned the power and extent of the authority of the Stände; but that, in consideration that there were so many faithful subjects in his kingdom, who preferred rather to emigrate than to oppose his will — in consideration that so many faithful counselors and servants had moved into the kingdom, he had resolved, of his own inborn mildness, to preserve all privileges, liberties, and Majestic Letters, as far as they were not contrary to the renewed statutes or regulations of the country; but he declared as null and void the two Ma-

* Ferdinand the Second, in the presence of the Stände, with a pair of scissors, cut to pieces and entirely destroyed the Majestic Letter of Rhodolph the Second.

jestic Letters of Rhodolph the Second, of which one concerned religion, and the other punishments and confiscation. He declared, also, that he would preserve all the rights of the Stände in the *hereditary* kingdom of Bohemia, not to impose constitutional taxes, except with the consent of the Stände, and that no other contribution whatever should be enforced; that against no member of the Stände would he proceed summarily (de facto), but that every one should be examined and tried by the tribunals of justice; and that, since differences of religious faith had been the cause of the late rebellion, he must and would preserve all the people of Bohemia in the unity of the holy Roman Church, and not permit other faith, religion, and exercise in the said kingdom; and that all those who had not yet adopted the Catholic religion must be brought by convenient means to it, in order to form the unity of faith and feeling, to serve us better, and to advance the common welfare. That he would establish a new order of coin, to favor the purposes of commerce."*

The historians of this period graphically describe the excess of misery which the reign of this tyrant had produced. "Ferdinand the Second, on his accession to the throne, found Austria Lutheran, thickly populated, and prosperous; he left her Catholic, depopulated, and impoverished. He found in Bohemia three millions of Hussites, dwelling in flourishing cities and villages; he left merely seven hundred and eighty thousand Catholic beggars."

From this blow Bohemia has never recovered.

Ferdinand the Second was succeeded by his son Ferdinand the Third, 1637, who, though a more tolerant prince, for the honor, as he conceived, of his father, felt himself obliged to continue, in a measure, the contest which he had left him. In 1640, however, he accorded an instrument known as the *Novella Declaratoria*, in confirmation of the rights of his subjects and of the Stände; and the ninth article, regarded as the *Fifth Document* in the Bohemian Constitution, grants to the Stände

* "His imperial majesty reserves to himself, to his heirs and successors, the complete control of religion, according to the principle, 'cujus regio ejus religio.' He felt himself bound in conscience to exterminate all heretics."—*Menzel's Germany.*

the right to legislate on all matters which do not affect the sovereign rights of the king, and to adopt resolutions which must receive the sanction of the king.

With Ferdinand the Third ended the long series of wars growing out of the religious revolution accomplished by Luther and Calvin, followed by the peace of Westphalia, 1648. This great transaction marks an important era in the progress of European civilization. It established the equality of the three religious communities—of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists—in Germany, and sought to oppose a perpetual barrier to further religious innovations and secularization of ecclesiastical property.

The peace of Westphalia continued to form the basis of the conventional law of Europe, and was constantly renewed and confirmed in every successive treaty of peace between its central states, until the French Revolution.

The reign of Leopold the First (1657 to 1705) was darkened by the insurrection of the peasants in many of the districts, who refused to pay the enormous socage demanded. Under him and his son Joseph the First (1705 to 1711), who reigned over his empire with intelligence and energy, Bohemia began slowly to recover, principally through the introduction of German colonies, and by a greater religious forbearance and a diminution of the labor of the peasantry. Charles the Sixth (1711 to 1740), who succeeded, involved in uninterrupted wars, was not able to effect much for the welfare of the country. And the same causes operated against Bohemia during the first years of the reign of his daughter, Maria Theresa, as this land became again the scene of the War of the Succession, as well as of the Seven Years' War with Frederick the Great. It was only in later years that she was enabled to effect any thing for the welfare of the country. She ameliorated the condition of the peasantry, removed several obstructions to agriculture, opposed the increase of convents, and abolished many old abuses.

During the reigns of Charles the Sixth and Maria Theresa, renewed attempts were made in Bohemia for the revival and emancipation of the Czeckic nationality; but these efforts suddenly ceased when Joseph the Second ascended the throne. This imperial reformer was beset with the plan of destroying

all the various nationalities, and blending the whole Austrian monarchy into one consolidated German empire. But this idea, which he labored so assiduously to accomplish, was unrealized when he died. In Bohemia, as elsewhere in the empire, his zeal in the cause of reform so completely outstripped his judgment and experience, that the Stände, after his death, handed to his successor, Leopold the Second, a bill of complaints against many of his decrees, some of which had been characterized by the very best intentions. Leopold the Second, who succeeded his brother Joseph, granted, at the request of the Stände, a Bohemian pulpit, and on the 12th of August, of the same year, 1791, published a decree which constitutes another article of the Bohemian Constitution, and by which it was determined that "no alteration could be made in the existing constitutional regulations without bringing the matter before the deliberation of the Stände."

In the reign of Francis, which followed, still further contributions to the Bohemian Constitution took place.

1st. In the guarantees contained in the 13th article of the Chart of the German Confederacy, which grants to all German provinces a Constitution.

2d. Articles 54 to 56 of the Treaty of Vienna.

These enactments already cited, together with the coronation oath, taken by all the sovereigns, even to Ferdinand, the last emperor of Austria—wherein he swears "to preserve and maintain to the lords, nobles, and knights of Prague and other places, as well as to the whole people of the kingdom of Bohemia, their regulations, rights, privileges, institutions, liberties, and justice to all ancient and laudable customs, and to alienate and change nothing of this Bohemian kingdom, but especially augment and increase it, and do every thing which should advance the honor and the welfare of this kingdom"—constitute and form the Constitution of Bohemia.

Since the commencement of the present century no change has taken place in the political condition of Bohemia. Her people, much attached to their own institutions, and jealous of all innovation, have never been cordially reconciled to the house of Austria.* While, on the other hand, Austria, which at first

* To revive and strengthen their nationality, a few years since a Bohemian

claimed only to govern by election and according to law, now acts as if Bohemia were her own by right of conquest.

The *form* of the Constitution has survived, but its spirit has departed, and all that was real in its privileges been gradually abolished. The Stände is still called together annually, some nominal vote of supply is passed, and they adjourn. Meanwhile, all the rights of the humbler orders are set aside, the nobles become feudal lords, holding their estates of the crown by tenure of service, and dealing with their vassals as feudal lords were wont to do. New laws were enacted, new usages established, and, worst of all, a new language introduced into the courts.

For years past Bohemia has been treated as an integral portion of Germany. German customs and language, instead of Bohemian, prevail, and every effort made to extinguish the very memory of former independence, and to induce the persuasion, both at home and abroad, that as Bohemia had always owed obedience to the Germanic Confederation, so, in subjecting its inhabitants to the common usages of Germany, no violence whatever had been offered to the principles of right and justice.

Although the Stände for a length of time never placed much value upon their privileges as a body, yet they never entirely lost sight of them; and a few years ago, when an opportunity was imprudently presented by the conduct of the Hofkanzley, or Bureau of Administration at Vienna, they ventured once more upon an assertion of their long-dormant powers. At first they protested only against any interference with their own peculiar rights and privileges; afterward, as they acquired more confidence, against those which concerned the rights of the whole kingdom.

The appointment of Count Salm to the office of High Burgrave, who had not filled the office of *Landes-Officier*, and who was not possessed of any real property in the kingdom, both of which, agreeably to the statutes, were requisite, induced the Stände to complain to the government of the con-

Walhalla was attempted to be established, to be filled with the statues and busts of Bohemian princes and heroes. Many of the unfinished pieces may yet be seen in the studio of the late sculptor Schwanthaller, at Munich.

tempt shown for their rights. The protest of the Stände proved effectual, and the disqualifications of Count Salm were removed. Subsequent differences occurred between the imperial government and the Stände upon the subject of funds over which that body claimed control; but it was not until the year 1845 that these bodies came to an open rupture. The cities of Bohemia finding the expenses of the criminal courts too heavy, the matter was represented to the government, and the government subsequently directed the Stände to pay annually the sum of fifty thousand florins (twenty-five thousand dollars) out of their funds for that object. The Stände declined on the ground that it was an expense which should be met by the government. The government paid the amount, but increased the taxes of Bohemia to that extent, in order to cover the sum so appropriated, and which taxes were really paid in the years 1845 and 1846. Although in the Diet of the year 1847 only the same amount of taxes was demanded as in the two previous years, yet the Stände thought it their right and duty to demand of the government the reason of the increase since 1845. No reason was assigned by the government for the increase of taxes, as such a step was not usual, and would, at the same time, have been a dangerous admission to the Stände of a right to control the employment of the public funds; but, in answer, the government referred to the course usual on such occasions, summoned the Stände to an immediate partition or assessment of the taxes, and at the same time reminded that body of the right of the king "to increase, amend, or alter" the statutes at pleasure.

Upon the receipt of this communication, the Stände appointed a committee to examine into and to report upon the subject. A very voluminous report was drawn up, under the direction of Palacky (the historian of Bohemia), in which their rights were historically reviewed, but which proved so considerable that it was concluded not to present the document in its totality, but to preserve it in their archives for future use, and to communicate the results only to the emperor. This report proceeded to establish, from historical facts, documents, and treaties, that the rights of the Stände were not founded on the statutes of the 10th of May, 1627, as alleged by the

administration, but upon the old Constitution of the country, and the confirmation of King Ferdinand the Second, of the 27th of May, 1627;* that this confirmation had afterward been always renewed by all the kings of Bohemia in their oaths of coronation; that this conclusion was drawn from documents belonging to the archives, and from which it would be manifest that the political institutions were originally of a democratic nature; that the people of Bohemia possessed great political liberties when the monarchical principle was only in its infancy; that from this principle was derived the right of free election of their sovereign by the people; that this people, represented by a corporation of the free landed proprietors, had always preserved their most important rights; that the Stände were, according to undoubted historical proofs, the descendants of the free landed proprietors, and their rights were essentially the same; that if, in the course of time, some of these rights, such as the election of the bishop, or the right of electing the sovereign after the death of every king, had been lost, the right of co-operation by acts of legislation, and especially upon the subject of taxes, had always been maintained; that these statutes were issued and became fundamental laws as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, under Charles the First; that the right of the lords and knighthood to make their own laws and that of the citizens, and which could not be altered without their consent, and that the same were confirmed in the year 1500, and again in 1564; that the statutes of 1564 were to be considered as a treaty between the king and the Stände of Bohemia, which, even after the suppression of the Bohemian revolution, could not be altered, but gave full power to the respective parties to enforce the reciprocal fulfillment of the treaty; that the Stände would not enter into a particular discussion of these facts, as they had documents of a much later date in their possession to prove sufficiently these assertions; that after the battle on the White Mountain, King Ferdinand decreed, on the 10th of May, 1627, a new set of statutes, reserving to himself the right to increase, amend, or alter those statutes; but that those statutes em-

* Staats Lexikon.

braced only regulations of police administration, stating at the same time, most expressly, that upon the subject of political rights a new decree would be issued. This decree appeared on the 27th of May, 1627, confirming all the rights and liberties of the Stände, in so far as they were in accordance with the new regulations. (It excepts the two decrees of Rhodolph the Second, respecting religion, punishments, and confiscations.) That besides, King Ferdinand, in the same decree, gives the assurance that no taxes or contribution of taxes would be exacted without having been first debated in the Assembly of the Stände, and that only such sums as they voluntarily agreed to pay could be demanded; that the Emperor Leopold the Second, in one of his decrees, had decided that no alteration could be made in the existing constitutional regulations without its being first subjected to the deliberation of the Stände; that these rights were annually acknowledged in the demands from the throne upon which the taxes were granted, and were expressly acknowledged and confirmed by the coronation oath taken by each of the sovereigns, even including Ferdinand, the present king of Bohemia.

After recapitulating the various statutes which form the Bohemian Constitution, the report concludes that, in consideration of the very clear elucidation of their rights afforded by these documents, the committee invites the Stände to inform the king: First, that the Stände are fully conscious of the extent of their rights and liberties. Second, that they protest most solemnly against all alterations of their Constitution, or infringements of their rights and privileges. Third, that they are resolved to sustain their own and their country's rights by all the constitutional means in their power.*

The Stände declined to pay the fifty thousand florins, and requested to be informed of the necessity of such an expenditure. The government, in the usual bureaucratic language, declared "the conduct of the Stände most strange and reprehensible;" it stated further, that "explanation upon the subject of the employment of the funds would be given, but that an immediate compliance with the present request was expect-

* Staats Lexikon.

ed, as well as a closing of the sessions without delay." The debates upon the question shortly afterward followed. On this occasion, the bureaucratic president (the burgrave) of the Diet said the Stände would have to bear the consequences, "if the warning of the father should be changed into the punishment of the master."* It was answered that, "even were an armed force thundering at the doors, their resolution would be unchanged." On the 31st of August, the request was declined, the vote being twenty-six against and ten in favor of the measure.

After that decision, the government ordered the taxes to be collected, and directed the Burgrave Count Salm, if necessary, "to charge the imperial authorities with the execution of the measure; and, in case of a refusal, to employ all the force at his command."

Backed by a military power too gigantic to resist, the government prevailed; the taxes were paid in utter disregard of the voice of the Stände, the only remaining feature of the Constitution annihilated, and, by the hand of a Habsburg, by which it had been first assailed, perished the last vestige of Bohemian liberty.

When the first Habsburg ascended the throne of Bohemia, as the partial eulogist of the "House of Austria" relates, the people were all-powerful, and the monarch a cipher; but, when the last of the same dynasty quitted the throne, the monarch was all-powerful, and the people a cipher. When Ferdinand the First was elected King of Bohemia, he could not impose taxes, raise troops, make war or peace, coin money, or institute or abrogate laws; he possessed none of these essential elements of sovereignty. And yet the apologists of the imperial house will prate of the inherited sovereign power. From whom was this sovereign power derived? The answer is, from Ferdinand the First; for it had no existence before his time. And where did he obtain it, when, in the language of the historian, "he acknowledged, by public act, his election to the monarchy, as the free choice of the barons, nobles, and states of Bohemia, and disowned all other rights and preten-

* An imitation of the language of the Emperor of Russia to the Poles.

sions?" The question is left to the decision of those fawning sycophants around the imperial throne who speak of it as a matter of unparalleled insolence on the part of the Stände of Bohemia to dare to remind the emperor of his oath of coronation, by which he had sworn to maintain their rights. History records no more clear and palpable example of usurpation than that afforded by the reign of the house of Habsburg over the kingdom of Bohemia, where they found a people in the full enjoyment of all the essential elements of freedom, especially those of electing their own sovereign, and making their own laws, etc.; and this dynasty have left it so completely sunk in slavery that the will of their Legislature is immediately annulled by military force, and when, as the only act of resistance to arbitrary power, that body presumes respectfully to remind the emperor of those rights, such a step is regarded as a matter of "unparalleled insolence."

Such was the political situation of Bohemia in 1847; and it may readily be conceived that when, in the following year, it was announced that the period had arrived for the resuscitation of all oppressed nationalities, that people was fully ripe for the movement, and for the assertion of their long-lost rights.

The state of disorder and confusion into which Europe was thrown by the French Revolution of 1848, afforded to the Czechi of Bohemia a favorable opportunity for the indulgence of their national sentiments, as well as dreams of freedom and independence, which two centuries of Austrian bondage had failed to destroy.

Imitating the conduct of the rest of the empire, and jealous, in particular, of the Frankfort Assembly, in whose schemes for the Germanization of Eastern Europe it was feared that the interests of the Slavi would be too much overlooked, the Czechi of Bohemia protested against every measure tending to identify them with the Germanic Confederation, and demanded a national existence equivalent in its relations with the empire to that enjoyed by the Hungarians.

Refused their demands by the emperor, on the 1st of May an address was published summoning all the Slavic provinces of the empire to meet in a Slavic Congress, to be held at Prague

on the 31st of the same month, to take counsel for the interest of their race, and especially to counteract the absorbing influence of the Germanic body about to assemble at Frankfort.

"The populations of Europe," says Count Joseph Mathias Thun, in his proclamation convoking the Assembly, "are beginning to comprehend each other, and to unite. The Germans have, for their work of unity, called together a Parliament in Frankfort, whereof one principal object is that Austria shall give up to German sway so much of its possessions as are necessary to constitute German unity. This would not only destroy the unity of Austria, but would annihilate also the union of the Slavic races, whose national independence would be threatened. The time is come when we Slavians must understand one another and unite in our resolves."

This Congress, consisting, besides the Bohemian members, of sixteen deputies, sent respectively from each of the southern Slavic groups of nations (Russia, for obvious reasons, not being included), had met agreeably to appointment, and were discussing the various theories of Slavic regeneration, when the inhabitants of Prague, tired of inaction, rose in open revolt.

For some years previously, a secret association had existed at Prague among the lower classes of citizens of Bohemian descent, and by whom only Bohemian was spoken. On the occurrence of the revolution at Paris, this body at once avowed its political character, and, on the 9th of March, a meeting was called at the St. Wenzelsbad, where a petition to the emperor was adopted. The authorities had warned the citizens not to attend this meeting, but no measures had been taken to prevent them. A gathering of about thirteen hundred persons of the lowest rank took place, who elected by acclamation a committee as the nucleus of the movement party, and this committee assumed a permanent authority. As each succeeding day increased the force of the revolution, a second petition was shortly afterward prepared, chiefly by a party of students, demanding popular representation on the broadest basis, and a responsible Bohemian ministry residing in Prague. The committee, accompanied by two hundred armed students, forced the governor general of the kingdom, Count Rhodolph Stadion,

not only to receive, but to sign the document, and a deputation was immediately dispatched with it to the emperor; Count Stadion, at the same time, advising Baron Pillersdorf, president of the ministry at Vienna, that "he could answer for nothing if all was not granted."

The previous petition had also been sent to Vienna, asking a number of concessions, some of which were granted and others refused. On their return to Prague, the deputation illuminated their windows in honor of the privileges granted; but the people, on hearing the result of their efforts, were so incensed because *all* their demands were not granted that they broke the windows of all the deputies; they then appointed a second deputation to repair to Vienna and renew the application to his majesty, making loud threats in case their second effort should be attended with no better success. The second application was successful. All was granted. A National Guard, with the Bohemian cockade, was formed. Committees were appointed to suggest the most extensive reforms for the approaching Diet; and these committees were by another popular demonstration converted into a species of national *Ausschuss*, or committee of administration, which was likewise recognized by the governor. After these acts of weakness, Count Stadion resigned, and Count Leo Thun, a young nobleman of great firmness and judgment, was raised to the post, which his predecessor had only quitted after he had abandoned every defensible point, and thus given an uncontrollable impulse to the Revolution.

A Slavic detachment of the National Guard, which was, in truth, an armed club (composed mostly of students), assumed the name of Swornost; another club, called the "Slovanska Lipa" (Slavic Linden), was formed on the 24th of May, and whose numbers amounted to six hundred. The objects of which were,

1st. To observe the further development of the constitutional principle.

2d. To watch over the confirmation and equal rights of the two nationalities in schools and offices.

3d. Strict union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, for the preservation of their independence, especially against the German Confederacy.

4th. To establish a reciprocity among all Slavic nations.

5th. Commercial intercourse with all Slavic countries, especially in the South.

This club, as its name imports—"the Oak of Bohemia"—was composed of the most radical spirits of the day, who considered any attempt to sustain order as reactionary. At their first meeting, a motion to abide by the concessions of the emperor made on the 15th of May, and to proceed to the election of members of the Diet, met with great opposition. They insisted upon the resignation of the mayor, and that the National Guard should join the students in a petition to the Minister of War for the removal of Prince Windischgrätz from his post as military commander of the city.

Ernst Alfred, Prince of Windischgrätz, one of the highest nobles of Austria, is, on his father's side, a descendant of the old counts, later Princes of Windischgrätz, whose ancestor, Weriand von Grätz, was a branch of the family of Weimar, that existed in the eleventh century. On his mother's side, he claims descent from the famous Waldstein (Wallenstein), *Duke of Friedland*—a title which the emperor, after the prince's successes at Prague and Vienna, in 1848, conferred on him,* together with that of marshal of the empire. There is, perhaps, in all Germany, no name more hateful to a portion of the population than that of Prince Windischgrätz; nor is it surprising that such should be the case, since, although a well-bred and highly-polished gentleman, he is cold, distant, and haughty. They ascribe to him the expression, "In my opinion, no man exists who is not at least a baron;" or, in other words, that all below barons were mere animals; and, whether guilty or not of the charge, this circumstance has doubtless tended to aggravate the animosity toward him during the Revolution, under the supposition that, with his utter indifference to all untitled human life, he would not hesitate to order wholesale slaughters, so long as no scions of nobility were included among the victims. But the falsity of such a supposition, the whole conduct of the prince at Prague, subsequently at Vienna, and

* He has been for many years endeavoring to obtain from the government of Austria some portion, if not the whole, of the immense estates of Waldstein, which had been subjected to confiscation.

still later in Hungary, most clearly establishes. On these occasions, as his bitterest enemies are constrained to admit, he exhibited a forbearance rarely if ever surpassed. The moment after his wife had been inhumanly murdered before his eyes, instead of threatening vengeance—instead of executing it—which the force at his command would have enabled him to effect, "Now," said he, in tones of heart-broken anguish, "the greatest moderation will be necessary, or I shall be supposed to act from feelings of revenge."

This seemed to be his ruling apprehension, to be thought capable of revenging himself. With the most perfect control over himself, or a total absence of all feeling, which can alone account for the remarkable self-possession he displayed on the occasion just cited, during the siege of Vienna, this man of iron nerves was found to weep; and on being asked the cause, replied, "I feel that severity is absolutely required of me, and I am tortured by the thought that what I do may be imputed to vengeance."

As soon as the lawless proceedings of the 26th of May in Vienna, by which the whole power of the government became vested in the students, was known at Prague, whether from the force of example or* from the desire of being independent of the control of an administration of boys, on the 27th of May, the president of the government in Prague, in concert with the other officers of all its branches, decided upon the establishment of a Provisional Government; the ministry to be composed of eight members, and no longer to be under the control of the government at Vienna. Two of the ministers immediately started for Innspruck, to obtain, if possible, the sanction of the emperor to their proceedings. The ministry at Vienna, as soon as they had received official intelligence of the proceedings at Prague, hastened to inform the emperor of the illegal character of the measure, in order to anticipate all intervention on the part of the deputation applying for its confirmation.

* Count Thun gives as reasons for the movement, that the actual condition of matters required rapid and energetic measures, which exceed the limits of the existing authorities, and that official communication with the ministry at Vienna had been interrupted by the late events in that city.

At the same time, the Minister of the Interior addressed a letter to the Governor of Bohemia, in which he declares the measure illegal, and calls on him, on his responsibility, not to permit it to progress, and, by proclamation, directed all the under officers not to obey the instructions of the Provisional Government of Prague until it shall first have received the sanction of the emperor. To this protest of the Austrian ministry against the formation of a Provisional Government for Bohemia, Count Leo Thun boldly replied, and, after quoting the leading points of the ministerial protest, states that he has sent a report of his proceedings to his majesty the emperor, and that he was unwilling to retrace his steps or suspend his resolution, until the emperor's decision should arrive. As to the responsibility with which the Austrian ministry had threatened him, he protested that he readily took it upon himself, and that he, and he alone, was responsible for all the measures of the Provisional Government of Bohemia. The period for the meeting of the Slavic Congress approached, and the picturesque streets of Prague were thronged with the rich and varied costumes, and resounded with the many tongues of Poles, Moravians, Slovacks, Servians, Illyrians—all the Slavic nations of the empire. On the 2d of June, the Congress opened its proceedings, thus giving fresh stimulants to the prevailing excitement. "The old hymn of St. Wenceslas was sung around the relics of the Bohemian martyrs, and in churches which had rung with the controversies of John Huss and the Utraquists; a Serbian Pope said mass before the statue of King Wenceslas, in the Rossmarkt; and passions as fierce as the flames of Constance, or as fatal as the rout of the White Mountain, started into life from that bridge, from which St. John Nepomuck had been plunged into the Moldau."

Palacky, the historian of Bohemia, was named president *pro tempore* of the Congress; and a president was also appointed for each of the three sections formed according to the principal Slavic tribes of Austria, the Czechi, the Eastern and the Southern Slavi.* The members present amounted to three hundred,

* The ministry consisted of eight members: Palacky, Rieger, Brauner, Barwalk, Count Nastiz, and Strohback. Rieger and Nastiz proceeded to Innspruck, to receive, if possible, the sanction of the emperor to their proceedings.

and at the first sitting it was resolved that Austria should be a Slavic empire, as the Slavi, throughout its limits, greatly preponderated. The subject which principally occupied their attention was the Diet at Frankfort, and they resolved to have no connection with it.

In the mean time, the disorder of the city continued from day to day to increase, and Prince Windischgrätz, the military commander, and who had witnessed in Vienna, on the 14th of March, the consequences of a want of preparation against a popular insurrection, began to take the necessary military precautions. These, of course, were regarded as reactionary tendencies. On the 7th of June, a large meeting of the people resolved to petition the emperor for the removal of Windischgrätz, and the appointment of one of the archdukes.

On the 10th, a vast assemblage of citizens and students took place in the Carolinum, the building of the university founded by the Emperor Charles the Fourth, at which a Storm Petition was resolved upon, to demand of Prince Windischgrätz, military commander of the city, the withdrawal of the troops from certain strategical points which they had occupied on the Vissehrad, and a distribution of two thousand muskets and eighty thousand cartridges, and a battery of cannon for the use of the town, under the pretext of being obliged to defend themselves against reactionary movements. The common council proceeded to the Aula, and endeavored, but in vain, to quell the agitation. A deputation of students, headed by the mayor, and accompanied by several deputies, waited on Prince Windischgrätz. The latter personages were only interested in the third article of the petition, viz., the removal of the battery in the Joseph's Barracks, on the Vissehrad. The prince refused to grant the petition; but, in compliance with the wish of the citizens, as well as that of the Civil Governor, Count Thun, he caused the battery in the Joseph's Barracks to be removed to the Hradshin.

On the morning of the 11th, a public meeting was called for the evening of the same day, in the Wenzelsbad. At this meeting the greater part of the persons present were students, and members of the Swornost; several exciting speeches were delivered, and the people informed that Prince Windischgrätz

had refused the delivery of arms; it was thereupon resolved to drive the garrison out of the city, as the moment had arrived when it devolved upon the people to make their own laws. The next day had been fixed upon for the celebration of a great mass in the Rossmarkt. Eight days previously, Prince Lobkowitz, commander of the National Guard, had been notified that a mass would be celebrated on the following Monday, and that the corps of the Swornost would be present to preserve the order and quiet of the city, pledging themselves that no riotous conduct should be allowed.

On the next day, between ten and eleven o'clock, the time fixed on for the mass, about two thousand workmen, a great number of the Swornost, students, and other people in Slavic costume, assembled on the Rossmarkt. During the mass, the soldiers at the guard-house and the officers on duty were insulted, although they had not been wanting in all the military ceremonies and honors appropriate to the occasion.

After the mass was concluded, it was resolved to proceed to the quarters of Prince Windischgrätz, and to inflict upon him a mock-serenade. The masses then put in motion, proceeded toward the quarters of the military commander, singing Slavic songs, in which they contemptuously mingled his name, screaming out "Okolo,* Windischgrätz!" endeavoring in every possible manner to provoke and insult him.

A company of the regular troops stationed before the commander's quarters ordered the crowd to preserve silence, and not being obeyed, they placed themselves before the singers, and prevented their further passage. Forced by this measure to withdraw, the populace retired in all directions to their houses in search of arms; and re-assembling again on the Graben, immediately commenced the construction of barricades. About this time, a deputation of citizens waited on Prince Windischgrätz, assured him of their loyalty, and requested his interference for the preservation of order and tranquillity. On their return, they met the noisy and riotous crowd, making warlike demonstrations, and crying out "Down with Windischgrätz!" "The rascal must hang from his own balcony!" A lieutenant

* *Okolo*, same as the Italian *eccolo*; nearest approach in English is halloo.

of the regular troops, Tablouski, who came to the Graben to release the soldiers on duty there, ordered his half company to drive back the crowd, which was effected without injury to any one. He was beaten on the head with a stick by one student, while another attacked him with a sabre. The students were arrested, and confined in the quarters of the general commandant. The people made another rush on the soldiers, stormed a house in which they were stationed, and began to throw stones and brick-bats. They were again driven back, and, only after a second attempt, the above-named officer ordered his men to load. The cry of treason and barricades now resounded from all parts. Major Schütte sent his aid-de-camp to the barracks to bring out the troops. He was attacked with stones thrown from the houses. A student encountering him with a sabre, a contest ensued, when a party of grenadiers came up to his relief. When the soldiers approached, the mob retired toward the Museum, which served as a *corps de garde* to the Swornost, and there commenced tearing up the pavement, for the purpose of erecting barricades. About this time the throng increased to such an extent, that the soldiers on duty, on the *Alt Stadterring*, were forced to retire with their cannons. Barricades were now commenced in every street, a Swornost superintending and giving instructions for their erection; this, together with the fact that the barricades were built upon the most approved plan, induced the belief that the tumult was not sudden and unexpected, but premeditated and well arranged.

Two companies of grenadiers were ordered to charge the barricades at the Museum; they were received with two discharges, but without effect; upon which the second company fired a volley against the Museum. That barricade was destroyed, and the soldiers retired. The troops now began with energetic measures, and the conflict in several streets was quite severe, particularly in the *Alt Stadt*, or Old Town, where the narrow streets and high barricades obstructed the passage of the troops, and exposed them to the fire from the windows, as well as to injury from the heavy stones, tiles, &c., which were thrown from the roofs of the houses on to them. Captain Müller marched with two companies on to the fruit-market, where he was ordered to take the *Clementinum*. One com-

pany was posted at the great entry in front; and the other, penetrating the building from behind, was received with shots and stones. The attack was vigorously repelled; several persons were killed or wounded, and fifty-six, principally Swornosts, students, and workmen, were taken prisoners, a great quantity of arms, and several thousand cartridges found in the building (another proof of premeditation), captured. A deputation of the people called on Prince Windischgrätz, and demanded the release of the prisoners; to whom the prince replied, that the prisoners would be liberated as soon as the barricades should be removed. This was promised; and, to facilitate its fulfillment, some of the students in confinement were released; these endeavored to effect the removal of the barricades, but the more violent defenders refused, and the students, unable to effect a reconciliation, returned to their prison.

A party of National Guards* preceded the troops, to show that only in case of extreme necessity would the soldiers be employed. This proved of no avail; the defenders of the barricades declared to the troops that, if they were attacked, Count Thun (who, with several of the ministers, they had taken prisoner) should die.† After all this negotiation had failed, Colonel Mainan stated that he had orders to destroy the barricades with bomb-shells, but that he would give them still a respite of half an hour to remove the barricades and to disperse. During this interval, the barricades, so far from being removed, were more strongly fortified.

At this time the Archduke Ferdinand appeared in the streets, accompanied by the mayor and several members of the city council. All his endeavors to effect a pacification failed; Prince Lubkowitz, the mayor, who accompanied him, was shot at, and Lieutenant Gustaker, another of his attendants, had a horse killed under him. In the evening, Marie Eléonore, the Princess of Schwartzenberg, consort of the Prince Windischgrätz (sister of the present prime minister, and niece of the unfortunate Princess Schwartzenberg, who, in 1812, perished in

* These were the German citizens who sided with the troops against the Swornost, or Bohemian National Guard.

† Quarterly Review, 1850.

so tragic a manner at Paris, on the occasion of the *fêtes* in honor of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, just married to Napoleon), was killed in her own house by a shot discharged from one of the upper windows of the hotel, "The Golden Angel," which was immediately opposite to the quarters of the general commandant. A few moments after this event the prince descended into the street and addressed the crowd, who were making a demonstration before his quarters, with the most remarkable calmness and good temper. "Gentlemen," said he, "if the object of this vile serenade be to insult me as an individual, because I belong to the aristocracy, then you should go before my own hotel, where, unmolested, you may gratify your desire; but if, in making the demonstration before *this* building, you design to cast contempt upon the military commander of the city, I warn you that I shall punish such an attempt by every means in my power. Notwithstanding my wife lies now behind me in her blood, I conjure you in all kindness to depart, and not compel me to use against you all the force and power at my command." As soon as Prince Windischgrätz had finished these words, several of the crowd rushing up, seized him, and were hurrying him to the nearest lamp-post, where, with a cord which they had prepared, they intended to hang him, when he was rescued by the timely interference of some of his troops. These insults and injuries to the high officers of the government were the signal of battle, and the conflict was renewed at all points with increased vigor. General Schütte attacked the barricades with cannon and demolished them with bombs; and, after a hard fight of several hours, succeeded in re-establishing the communication between the old city and the Klein Seite. The River Moldau, or, as it is afterward known as the Elbe, flowing through the city of Prague, divides it into two parts; the greater portion, lying on the right bank, is called the Alt Stadt, or Old Town, with its narrow streets and antique buildings, one of the oldest, and, at one time, the most splendid city in Europe. The other, connected by a fine stone bridge adorned with time-worn statues, is called the Klein Seite, or small side, and contains the royal palace, the citadel, and other government buildings. On that side the land rises into a high bluff of several hundred

feet, commanding completely the level positions of the old town opposite; and it was there, on the Vissehrad, that the first battery was erected which gave the citizens so much alarm, and which the military commander, at the request of Count Thun, consented to withdraw.

On the next morning, Tuesday, the 13th, the military commander, who had, the evening previous, withdrawn his forces to the Klein Seite, dispatched a messenger with a white flag into the old town, and summoned the Slavi to surrender, threatening, in the event of their refusal, to bombard the city. The Slavi disregarding the summons, the prince ordered twenty bombs to be discharged into the city. This was done, and, producing no effect, he directed that the firing should be continued until ten o'clock. In the afternoon, the insurgents sent a flag of truce to the military commander. Prince Windischgrätz insisted on the barricades being removed, but did not require the people to surrender their arms. This was refused. Thereupon the conflict was renewed. The fighting in detached parties continued during the day and throughout the night. The main streets and the principal squares of the city were in the hands of the troops. The insurgents were established in the Karolmenthal.

The number of killed on Tuesday night was computed at six hundred. One Austrian general was killed, and twenty officers either killed or wounded; among the latter, the son of Prince Windischgrätz. The bombardment of the city had continued, at intervals, during the 14th and 15th, and, so far from producing submission, the Slavic students had left the city in great numbers, to gather and bring to their relief all the Bohemian peasants from the surrounding country. Count Thun, who had been arrested by the people, was set at liberty on the 14th.

On the evening of the 15th, Prince Windischgrätz having been assured by the National Guard that his retirement from the command of the city would alone effect a pacification of the citizens, resigned his office into the hands of Count Mensdorf, sent from Vienna to supersede him. The cannonading ceased, and the re-establishment of tranquillity was confidently expected. But the Slavi were false to their engagement:

so far from removing the barricades, and returning to order, as was promised upon the resignation of Prince Windischgrätz, the interim was employed in gathering fresh forces, and making further preparations for action.

But a few hours elapsed before the treachery was discovered. Count Mensdorf himself comprehended the necessity of resistance, Prince Windischgrätz again resumed the command, and operations were once more successfully renewed. A heavy fire was opened from the heights on the left bank of the Moldau; the city was set fire to in many places; the loss of life and damage to property was considerable. The barricades were attacked with great vigor by the troops, and one after another carried by storm; and, after three days of severe fighting, the city surrendered.

On Saturday night, at eleven o'clock, after almost an entire week of fighting, the bombardment ceased. The fire in the city extinguished, the capitulation commenced; the streets were cleared of barricades and occupied by the military. The disarming of the students and people, with the exception of the National Guard, began, and fourteen of the leaders of the insurrection were retained as hostages for the tranquillity of the city.

With the entire submission of Prague, the Slavic Congress was broken up, and its members obliged to leave the city. The National Committee, many of whose members were implicated in the insurrection, was dissolved; and the projected Diet of Bohemia indefinitely postponed.

The city placed under martial law, or in a state of siege, the public order was not again disturbed; and this conflict proved not only the first, but the most successful effort of the restored military power of the empire.

The tranquillity of the Bohemian capital was not again disturbed, notwithstanding the subsequent outbreaks in Vienna, and in other portions of the empire, although the army was afterward, from necessity, withdrawn; and subsequently, the Bohemian party in the Diet at Vienna, and at Kremsier, constituted the chief supporters of the throne and government.*

* This was but the result of the strong Slavic feeling, and consequent hatred of the Germans. They would not follow the German Radicals, though they promised liberty, but awaited the general union and emancipation of the Slavi.

Without any direct agency in the liberal movements of the eventful year of 1848, but serving rather as the instruments of conservative, if not of reactionary principles, the Slavic nations of Austria seem to be the only portion of the population to whom the late irruptions have afforded any positively beneficial results.

Previous to that period, possessed of no proper individuality, their political nationality was unacknowledged, and for centuries, consequently, they exercised no influence in the political councils of Europe. The storms of 1848 and 1849 raised them to consideration, and even to power.

The course pursued by the Austrian Slavi was widely different from that adopted by the other races of the empire; and this doubtless, more than any other cause, contributed to the results we have stated. Confident of their eventual emancipation from a foreign yoke, the Slavi of Austria seemed carefully to avoid the premature and hasty examples of the revolutionary states of France, Germany, and Italy, but continued to labor silently and in patience for their own liberation; and, instead of desiring to accelerate that event, sought rather to render themselves prepared for its appreciation and enjoyment.

This tendency of the Austrian Slavi, as well as of the whole Slavic race, was nowhere more evidently displayed than in Vienna.

The geographical position of this capital, sufficiently central as regards all the Slavic nations, and, at the same time, the nearest point for the more free and enlightened governments of Western Europe, had made Vienna, for many years previously, the seat of the Slavic Amphictyons. The first step taken by the Slavi, after being rendered conscious of their existence as a great race, was to enlighten the people on the subject of their national unity. To this end all the powers of philology (for which the Slavi have a peculiar and native talent) were invoked, to show that the branches of their race possess a greater approximation and stronger affinity than exists in those of Romanic or Teutonic origin. The striking points of affinity developed by this critical comparison of languages, excited the vivid imaginations of the Panslavists, and very naturally suggested the ideas of a political union. Indi-

viduals of the various nations meeting together, became suddenly friends, through no other talisman than the mere affinity of their idioms. Small meetings began next to be held by the different Slavi of the empire, in the metropolis, and under the very eyes of imperial authority. The mass of visitors regarded these pleasant assemblies as insignificant; but a few of the most sanguine did not fail to consider them in the light of an overture to a long and serious drama.

The police of the city, apprised of these regular festivals, became watchful; and prudence on the part of the Slavi being requisite, was strictly exercised. The time and place of holding these so-called "Slavic Unions" were frequently changed, and announced with great secrecy only a few hours before they commenced. The order and quiet with which they were conducted causing no uneasiness in the minds of either the police or of the government, permission was soon granted the Slavi to hold public concerts and balls (the latter *en costume*), even during the last years of the administration of Prince Metternich.

At a later period, these conclaves became more open, and took place in a coffee-house called, *par excellence*, "The Slavic." Every stranger, if a Slave, whether civilian or soldier, was there introduced to the most prominent and erudite men of the race. There Slavic languages were exclusively spoken, and Slavic newspapers read by Bohemians, Poles, Croatians, and Carniolians, who clustered in groups around their several tables, and discoursed in their various dialects. Articles of general interest, from the periodicals, were read aloud; and letters of importance from the different countries secretly circulated; ethnographical maps disclosed the practicability of Panslavism, and the interchange of views among the learned rendered its objects more clear and defined.

Nationality in every respect, but particularly in intellectual pursuits, was encouraged, in the hope that a common literature would, in time, produce political union; and the *Xivio Slava*, with which all their meetings in Vienna terminated, became now the watch-word, resounding through the empire, and deeply exciting every mind.

Such was the prudent course pursued by the Austrian Slavi

for the realization of this historic idea; when the revolution of 1848, occurring too soon for their still undeveloped plans, embarrassed rather than facilitated their designs. Influenced by no sympathy with the Democratic movements of Germany, they remained passive and immovable throughout the shock which appeared to convulse all Europe; and it was not until the whole list of liberal requisitions had received the sanction of the imperial government, that the Panslavist Congress commenced its sittings at Prague.

To that Congress came delegates from every branch of the Slavic race—Czechs, Lekhs, Slovacks, Rhuthenes, Serbs, and Slovenes; and during its session, abruptly terminated by the outbreak of the populace, the great scheme for making the Austrian empire instrumental for the aggrandizement of the Slavic race, first took shape and form—a scheme unthought of at the date of the Polish insurrection of 1830, and having no existence when the republic of Cracow breathed its last, in 1846.

According to this plan, the Austrian empire was to form a centre around which all the members of the Slavic family were gradually to cluster, and under the shadow of which they were to acquire strength and consistency, such as would secure their existence, and entitle them to a place as an integral part of the European system. To render this project completely successful required the annihilation of the Magyars; and this, no doubt, was one of the principal motives which induced the late intervention of Russia in Hungary.

The Czar, holding imperial sway over sixty out of eighty millions of Slavi in Europe, very naturally considers himself at the head of that race; and his defeat of the Magyars, the great enemy of the Slavi, furnishes him, as he doubtless thinks, with additional claims to the title of protector Both the protector and the protected seem, however, to be actuated by very different objects in the attainment of the same great end—the union of the Slavic race. That of the former would seem to be to accomplish, through the lethargy of the Austrian and Turkish governments, the subjugation of the entire Slavic race to his sceptre, and to create thus an enslaved Panslavism; while that of the latter, by the diffusion of liter-

ary and political knowledge, is to promote a distinct national existence, with the hope that, upon the downfall of Austria and Turkey, they may be enabled to erect upon the ruins of these empires one united, free, and great Slavic nation.

If Austria were truly wise, half-Slavic as she is (having more than sixteen millions of Slavic subjects*), she would leave Germany to its plans of federalization, and place herself at the head of a grand Slavic movement; and, if the Turkish empire is destined to crumble to pieces, its scattered fragments should be gathered together in a Slavic empire, rather than add to the colossal power of Russia, and enlarge the dominion of its semi-barbaric institutions. The incapable Greeks of the present day have sometimes dreamed of having Constantinople for their capital; but how much better could the Slavi establish and maintain themselves there, should the predictions of the fall of the Turkish empire be verified. A Christian successor to the Moslem would thus be secured, without the Turkish empire becoming a possession of the Czar. The attainment of such a result might reasonably be hoped for, if a common feeling in favor of liberty united the German and Slavic populations.

* The three united kingdoms (Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia), though representing but the *thirty-fifth* portion of the empire of Austria, furnish the *third* portion of the Austrian infantry, and are capable of furnishing double the number, if required.

END OF VOL. I.







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